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AUTHOR Forbes, Jack D.; Adams, Howard
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ABSTRACT

Embodying a thoroughly grass-roots, democratic approach, the Native American Language Education (NALE) Project of D-Q University began operation during 1973-74. Local Native Americans are employed to work with the indigenous population in the local communities. Members of the local community are provided the time and opportunity to discuss, meet, and present their views, feelings, and opinions regarding the total language development process which occurs within their own community. The elderly people, who possess all the knowledge and wisdom of tribal language, culture, and history, are periodically contracted as professional consultants because of their tribal expertise, to correct, evaluate, and approve language materials before they are printed and distributed. In 1973-74 materials were prepared for, and disseminated to, a large audience comprised of Indian tribes across the country. Most staff effort was focused at the Papago in Arizona and the Zuni in New Mexico. By 1974-75 virtually all resources were focused at Papago and Zuni. This report includes: a summary of the historical and current situation of the Zuni and Papago peoples; discussions of the community development theory and the NALE project, and of the role of self-determination in language development; a description of the NALE project (background, philosophy, general objectives, and operation); and a brief discussion of the project evaluation. (NQ)

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A Model of "Grass-Roots" Community Development: The D-Q University Native American Language Education Project

Jack D. Forbes
Howard Adams

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH
EDUCATION & WELFARE
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Before We Begin

The Native People of this Sacred American Earth, from Patagonia to Greenland, are natural poets, producers of literature with depth and beauty. The 'O'odham (Papago-Pima) and Ashiwi (Zuni) peoples are among the native poets of this land.

The Native American language Education Project exists, in part, so that this Native Poetry and Song can go on, can live, and create, by means of the American native languages.

We present this small section of a Papago 'O'odham sacred song so the reader may appreciate the artistic-poetic genius of these people, and see for himself why the 'O'odham language deserves preservation and enhancement. Also we wish this study to begin with sacred thoughts, thoughts of beauty, because, after all, that is what the Native People are here for.

The following selection is part of a long series of songs or chants employed in the "Salt Pilgrimage," a dangerous vision-quest journey undertaken by Papago men. The purpose of the journey is not merely to secure a private vision but also to help bring rain to take care of all the plants, animals, and people. It is, in short, a sacrifice made for the sustenance of all life.

It was mysteriously hidden.
Wanting it, I could not find it.
Behind my house post did I thrust my hand.
I could not find it....
I went out the door. There my ashes were
piled high.
(With a stick) hard I struck them
And out I took it-my reed cigarette.
Burned out, it seemed.
I scratched, and at the end
Charred blackness lay.
Four times I struck it,
And out a great spark shone.
I lit it in the fire, I put it to my lips, I smoked.
Then at the east a wind arose, well knowing
whither it should blow.
The standing trees it went shaking,
The rubbish at the foot of the trees it piled.
A shining cloud toward the sky upreared
And touched it with its head.
All kinds of clouds together rose
And with it they did go.
Although the earth seemed very wide,
To the very edge of it did they go.
Although the north seemed very far,
To the very edge of it did they go.
Although the south seemed more than far,
To the very edge of it did they go.
Pulling out their white breast feathers
did they go.

Then on it the old men in a circle sat
And held their meeting.
Then they scattered seed and it came forth.

A thick root came forth;
A thick stalk then came forth;
A fair tassel came forth
And well it ripened.
Therewith were delightful the evenings,
Delightful the dawns.*

*From Ruth Underhill, Singing For Power, pp. 121-122.

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1. INTRODUCTION

This evaluation of the D-Q University Native American Language Education Project (NALE) is intended to be comprehensive and intensive. It is our firm belief that to accomplish this we must examine not only the project but also the objective conditions surrounding and preceding the project. That is, to look at NALE without reference to the realities of the ʻO'odham (Papago-Pima) and Ashiwi (Zuni) worlds would be like trying to evaluate the United States government while ignoring the United States.

NALE has attempted to serve the ʻO'odham and Ashiwi peoples. We must, therefore, look at what this means in concrete terms. Only in this manner can we judge the relative failure or success of the project. We have to, in short, understand the "base line" from which the project began to function. We have to also understand the socio-cultural and political realities of the ʻO'odham and Ashiwi worlds in order to understand the reasons for the emergence of NALE strategy and procedures.

This evaluation will, therefore, begin with a background section which summarizes the results of our detailed investigation of written source material, supplemented by oral interviews.

The Native American Language Education Project of D-Q University if funded by the U.S. Office of Education under Title IV, Part B of the Indian Education Act of 1972. The project commenced operation during the fiscal year of 1973-1974. This evaluation is primarily focused upon 1974-1975 (the second year) but of necessity some attention is given to the first year as well.

II. BACKGROUND

The Á́shiwi (Zuni) World

An understanding of the Á́shiwi experience must rest upon the feeling of ancientness or timelessness associated with the continuity of Á́shiwi history in Shiwona (the Zuni region). Á́shiwi traditions take Zuni history back into the creation of the world. Archaeology informs us that already by 700 A.D. Shiwona was inhabited by the ancestors of the Á́shiwi, living primarily at Atsinna (El Morro). From 700 until about 1400 Atsinna was inhabited, along with nearby villages. Other very large pueblos existed in the Nutria area from 1050-1300.

Gradually during the 1400's and 1500's the Á́shiwi shifted westward to their present area of occupation, guided by their spiritual leaders who were seeking Hepatina (the Middle Place of the World). This Middle Place was located at present-day Shiwanakwe (Zuni) and around that area six or seven pueblos were founded.

It is clear that people from many different areas came together in Shiwona, including Puebloans from the north and east, 'O'odham or other people from the Gila River, and Athapaskans (Apache-Navajo). By 1539-1540 the Ashiwi villages (called Sí́bola by the Spaniards) were known far and wide. Indians were constantly traveling to Shiwona from as far away as Sonora and the lower Colorado River. Through intermarriage perhaps the Á́shiwi became related to many other groups. Even today the White Mountain Apache trace some of their clans to an origin among the Á́shiwi.

The prosperity and spiritual depth of the Á́shiwi suffered a profound shock in 1539-1542 when Spaniards seeking gold invaded Shiwona. A Spanish army led by Francisco Vasquez de Coronado attacked and captured the westernmost Á́shiwi village, Hawikuh, in July 1540 and then occupied the other villages, extracting tribute, raping women, looting, and perhaps destroying several pueblos. The Á́shiwi probably suffered greatly until 1542 when the Spaniards began their retreat to Sinaloa. The Á́shiwi and their Natives followed behind the army liberating slaves and harassing the soldiers (who had to fight their way through Sonora because of the hate created by their rapine).

The raid of Vasquez de Coronado must not be underestimated. It served to teach the Á́shiwi what Europeans were like, both as to their aggressive avariciousness and as to their ideas of religious bigotry and intolerance. A number of Mexican and Cahita Indians stayed with the Á́shiwi and these people were thoroughly acquainted with Spanish imperialism farther south.

In 1582 the Á́shiwi were visited by a Spanish slave-raiding expedition from the Chihuahua area. It had little effect upon the Á́shiwi except that some Concho Indian slaves escaped from the Spaniards, food undoubtedly had to be given up, and the Zuni were able to observe Europeans trying to abduct Navajo women in the Á́coma-Zuni area.

In 1598 Juan de Oñate commenced the conquest of New Mexico for Spain. The Á́shiwi were left alone for a time but several events occurred which must have had a profound effect upon their thinking. The nearby Keres people of Á́coma pueblo were visited by Spanish soldiers who were demanding tribute. The Keres were upset at the excessive demands made and a fight started in which some soldiers were killed. Oñate then ordered that an example be made of beautiful Á́coma pueblo. The Spanish army attacked with orders to show no quarter and Indians were pursued to their houses and kivas to be slaughtered. Over 800 persons were murdered, including 300 women and children. Some 500 women and children were rounded up as captives and all over 12 years of age were enslaved. Eighty males were captured and they were enslaved also, after one foot was cut off of those over twenty-five years of age. The pueblo was completely destroyed and warnings were sent to all other pueblos.

The Oñate policy was typical of Spanish military-colonial strategy. Rebel Indians in a newly-conquered area were to be punished in such a way as to terrorize the balance of the population. In 1601 three Tompiro pueblos were similarly destroyed in New Mexico, all being burned to the ground with 800 to 900 men, women and children slaughtered.

In 1603 and 1604-1605 Spaniards visited the Á́shiwi and the Hopi. The Á́shiwi were cautious and outwardly friendly, with good reason, but the Spaniards were too weak to attempt to occupy Shiwona. Keres refugees were also able to re-establish Á́coma in this period and virtually all of the slaves escaped. Undoubtedly from 1559 to 1601, at least, many Keres were hiding among the Á́shiwi.

Until 1629 the land of Shiwona was left alone except, perhaps, for occasional tribute - collecting expeditions. In 1621 collecting tribute from the Á́shiwi and the Hopi was prohibited because they were still uncoverted.

In 1629 a Spanish army reached the Á́shiwi and Hopi. Three soldiers and three Roman Catholic priests or assistants were stationed in Shiwona, probably at Hawikuh. A priest was also placed among the Hopi. The Native Americans resented these intrusions and the Hopi are alleged to have poisoned the priest among them. In 1632 the Á́shiwi killed at least one priest (who was on his way to try to convert the Ó'odham of the Gila River) and may have also killed the other Spaniards as well. Why did the Hopi and Á́shiwi do these things? Because they apparently had learned by experience as well as from other Indians that the priests and the soldiers were equally functionaires of the Spanish Empire and that the priests always attempted to destroy the native religion, using soldiers to enforce their impositions.

In any case, the Á́shiwi abandoned their six villages and took refues on Tówayálane, a large mesa near K'iákima village. (This was to be a frequent place of refuge in the future also). A Spanish army appeared in March 1632 but the extent of their success in punishing the Á́shiwi is not known.

By 1636 the Á́shiwi had resettled their pueblos and the Spaniards left them alone because of troubles wth Apaches, Navajos and other Pueblo Indians elsewhere. Also during the 1640's the Spaniards were fighting among themselves and in 1650 the Pueblo Indians attempted a general revolt which was crushed. In 1643-44 some Spaniards may have raided the Á́shiwi at Tówayálane. It is quite likely that foraging parties of soldiers, looking for food supplies, blankets, and slaves, visited the area during these years and the Á́shiwi may have been forced to take refuge on Tówayálane again.

By the early 1660's Franciscan friars were again placed among the Á́shiwi and Hopi. One priest was stationed in Shiwona at Halonawa and a church was also erected (or rebuilt) at Hawikuh. Spanish authority was somewhat weakened, however, by the fact that Navajo people were frequently able to close the road from Acoma to Shiwona and from Shiwona to the Hopi country.

During the 1670's the Spaniards strengthened their position and began intensive efforts to destroy Pueblo Indian religion. Fray Pedro de Á́vila was stationed at Hawikuh in 1671 but, according to conflicting reports, the Navajos (or other Apaches) attacked the church and killed him (although he is also said to have been killed by the Tompiro people at Abó later). In any case, by 1675 the Pueblo Indians were resisting Spanish oppression openly. The priests at Zuni, Á́coma and elsewhere were openly challenged. Soldiers were dispatched to arrest Native spiritual leaders, burn kivas, and gather up all religious images, masks, etc. Three Tewa leaders were hanged, and forty-three others were lashed and enslaved. An armed party of Tewas then liberated the latter, an event of some significance since Popé and other ex-prisoners began to plan for a unified revolt.

In 1680 a simultaneous rebellion of Pueblo Indians and Apaches occurred. The Á́shiwi liberated themsleves, killing a priest at Halonawa and burning the two churches at Halonawa and Hawikuh. The priest at the latter village is said to have renounced the Catholic faith and to have become an Á́shiwi at this time.

From 1680 to 1692 the Á́shiwi concentrated themselves at Tówayálane, fearful of Spanish raiding even though the latter had retreated to El Paso. During 1692-1695 Spanish forces reinvaded New Mexico but were met with bitter resistance. The Á́shiwi were constantly involved in meetings with the Hopi, Keres of Á́coma, Salinero Apaches (close friends of the Á́shiwi), Navajos, Jemez, et cetera, however, Ashiwi warriors were not attacked by the Spaniards. On the other hand, numbers of Tewas, Tanos and other Puebloans fled from the Rio Grande Valley to the Á́shiwi, Hopi and Navajo in order to escape the Spaniards (especially in 1696-1697).

In 1698 the Spaniards made peace with the Ashiwi and in 1699 a new missionary was stationed in Shiwona. The Ashiwi had, in the meantime, come down from Tówayálane to settle at Shiwanakwe or present Zuni pueblo. Only one village was now left instead of the six of earlier years.

As usual the Spaniards were oppressive, holding Ashiwi women in concubinage, occupying land, et cetera. On March 4, 1703 the Spaniards were executed, the priest fled, and the Ashiwi retreated to Tówayálane. Some Ashiwi also fled to Hopi where Awatovi village had been destroyed because it had accepted a priest. During 1704-1705 a new Pueblo revolt almost developed and more Tewas, Tanos, etc., fled to the Navajo, Ashiwi and Hopi. In 1705, however, the Ashiwi were forced to accept another priest and, in spite of raids by the Hopi who were extremely anti-Spanish, the Ashiwi decided to conform (outwardly at least) to European control.

From 1705 until 1821, when the Franciscan order withdrew, the Ashiwi were forced to allow foreign missionaires to work among them. During this period they apparently developed an ability to cooperate with the Spaniards while still preserving their own way of life. At the same time, however, their forced alliance with the Spaniards earned them the enmity of the Hopis, Navajos and Gila Apaches who were ordinarily hostile to, or at war with, the Spanish Empire (except for a brief period in the 1790's and early 1800's when some Navajos were forced to become Spanish allies also). Apparently, however, the Ashiwi had decided that the Spaniards were far more dangerous enemies than the Athapaskans and Hopis and that conformity to Spanish control was a necessity for sheer survival.

The Ashiwi, after 1821, were virtually self-governing and they were in that condition when transferred to United State jurisdiction in 1847-1848. Warfare between the United States and the Navajos and Apaches helped to prevent white settlement in Shiwona and the Ashiwi were under little external pressure until the 1870's.

In 1877 the United States established a reservation for the Zuni, including only a part of Ashiwi territory (342,000 acres) but in 1935 the tribe was given the right to use an additional area of land controlled by the Bureau of Land Management. At about the same time (1870's white settlers began to intrude upon Ashiwi lands and from 1877 until at least 1891 a campaign had to be waged to oust intruders from key areas. Other lands, not in the reservation, were successfully occupied by Mormon and other non-Indian settlers as well as by Navajo people. Thus the area towards Gallup (to the north) and towards El Morro (to the east) was lost. The Ashiwi also lost their "salt lake" to the south, an important historic resource.

Nonetheless, the Ashiwi people had learned, from 1540 to 1821, how to resist foreign aggression. They had modified their traditional government by developing a set of "civil" officials to deal with outsiders and they had learned how to preserve their spiritual life in spite of persecution.

Beginning in the 1880's and 1890's the Ashiwi began to come under pressure greater than that experienced under the Spanish Empire. The Santa Fe Railroad soon encouraged the growth of white ranches, farms and businesses and thousands of travelers visited Gallup. Soon "auto stages" were taking tourists to El Morro, Zuni, and other "sights." What is it like to be a "tourist attraction?" What is it like to have cameras clicking at you? What is the psychological impact of being treated as a sort of living museum or human zoo? The impact of the "tourist" on Indian communities has seldom been studied but we believe that it should be noted as a problem worthy of consideration.

White missionaries, both secular and clerical, also began to arrive among the Ashiwi. In 1882 a Presbyterian day school was established, followed by a federal school in 1898. In 1900 the Christian Reformed Church established a church and a school. In 1907 a federal boarding school was instituted. Finally, in 1923 a Roman Catholic school was established after a fight over whether to allow Catholic missionaries back in. The federal agent was a Catholic and permission was granted.

The effects of outside intrusion began to be manifest by the 1920's. Ashiwi traditional ways of settling disputes were no longer always possible, with the nation divided into pro-Protestant and pro-Catholic factions (although the people were overwhelmingly neither Protestant nor Catholic). Outsiders with authority were now able to manipulate Zuni factions to their own advantage. Nonetheless, the Ashiwi were able to preserve,

in large measure, their sense of unity and their values, thus enabling them to pass through a series of crises with no irreparable damage. The preservation of the native language, in spite of school instruction in English, was a powerful factor in preserving internal cohesion.

In 1540 the Ashiwi population was probably 6,000 (although estimates have ranged from 3,000 to 10,000). Around 1910 a low was reached of 1,664. By World War II population had climbed to 2,319 and by 1950 stood at 2,800. Today Ashiwi population is climbing once again towards its 1540 total.

Today the Zuni Tribe is recognized as one of the better-integrated, more cohesive tribes. Zuni leadership has even been able to secure a good measure of control over federal and other white-initiated programs on the reservation. We believe that the preservation of the Zuni language and of those institutions closely intertwined with the language (such as religious societies and traditional ceremonies) has been largely responsible for the relative success of the Ashiwi today as compared with other Indian groups. It should also be stressed that the "quality" of Ashiwi life (as measured by crime rates, drug addition, mental illness, etc.) is markedly superior to that of many non-Indian groups.

The Ashiwi, from 1539 to the present, have shown great preserverence in preserving their identity, religious life, language, and values. These things were, however, severely threatened by English-only school instruction from the 1890's through the 1960's. For this reason the Zuni language project was conceived as a vital part of the continuing existence of the Ashiwi people. It's purpose is, in effect, to help assimilate the schools into Zuni life, changing them from foreign institutions threatening native cohesion into sympathetic and supportive elements of a modern Ashiwi culture.

The 'O'odham World

The ancient history of the 'O'odham people is so complex that it cannot be easily summarized. The ancestral roots of the 'O'odham have been identified with the appearance of a so-called "Desert Culture" in the Southwest about 10,000 to 12,000 years ago. This, in turn, evolved into the so-called "Cochise" tradition about 7,000 years ago and then gradually changed into a way of life very similar to recent Papago 'O'odham, recent River 'O'odham (Pima), et cetera.

The complexity of ancient 'O'odham history stems in part from the wide geographical distribution of 'O'odham-speaking people in modern times. By the 1530's-1590's 'O'odham peoples were distributed as follows: 1) the Tepehuan 'O'odham living throughout much of the present state of Durango; 2) the Hulime (Julime) people living in a half-dozen pueblos along the Rio Grande river near the junction of the Rio Conchos; 3) the Tepecan (Tepecano) people living in Sinaloa state; 4) the Nebome or "Lower Pima" people living in southern Sonora (the westernmost group of which was called the Sibubapa); 5) the "Upper Pima" people of northern Sonora, also called the Imuri; 6) the 'O'odham of the Altar Valley called "Pimas of El Soba," Sobas, and Piatos; 7) the Sobaiguipuru or Sobaipuri of the San Pedro and Santa Cruz Valleys of Arizona; 8) the River 'O'odham or Gila Pimas of the Phoenix region; and 9) the Papago 'O'odham of the region from the Santa Cruz River west to the Gulf of California and the Colorado River. Most of these groups still exist and still speak their 'O'odham language.

It is very clear, both from archaeology and 'O'odham traditional history, that the 'O'odham have been living in their historic region a very, very long time. Especially in the Papago region it may well be true that no other people have ever lived there, for archaeology reveals no non-'O'odham remains nor do Papago traditions speak of immigrating from anywhere else.

In the 1530's along the west coast and in the 1560's in Durango, Spanish imperialism began to reach 'O'odham peoples. It is not our intention here to review this process except to note that the Tepehuan and other southern 'O'odham groups stubbornly resisted and staged many rebellions. That the Tepehuan still preserve their language is testimony to their perseverence.

We shall focus our attention solely upon the 'O'odham groups of Sonora-Arizona, groups in immediate communication with each other and with the Papago in particular.

The Nebome 'O'odham (Lower Pima) were the first to feel the effects of Spanish imperialism in Sonora. Already by the late 1530's they were apparently being victimized by Spanish slave-raiding. From 1619 through the 1670's the Nebome were missionized by Jesuit priests, after being militarily suppressed by soldiers. In 1633 many rebelled but 14 native leaders were executed in 1634. As was quite common under missionization the population began to decline. In 1619 there were 14,000 or more Nebomes. By 1678 a more than 50% decline had occurred. In 1769 only 3,000 Nebomes remained.

From 1740 to 1755 the westernmost Nebomes, called Sibubapas, were in rebellion allied with Yaquis and Mayos at first and later with Séris. In 1768-1771 they and the Séri were again in revolt. Other rebellions occurred in 1724-5, 1737, 1763, 1766, and in 1825. From the 1820's through the 1860's Nebome 'O'odham men were recruited to fight in all of the numerous civil wars of Sonora, also serving against the Apaches. While their population was being worn down, Spanish-speaking settlers were continuously invading their lands. By the early 1900's the Nebomes or Lower Pimas were effectively surrounded by Mexican culture.

General populations trends can be understood better with reference to the following figures. In 1620 at least 200,000 Natives lived in the area from the Yaqui south to the Sinaloa, of whom 80,000 had been missionized. By 1781 only 40,365 Natives were left, for a loss of 80%. In 1678 Sonora had 40,000 converted Indians (including Ópatas, Nebomes, Séries, Yaquis and Mayos). In 1727 only 21,764 were left although the area now included the lands of the Upper Pimas, Sobas, and Sobaipuris.

Of greater significance to the modern 'O'odham people of Arizona is the history of the so-called Upper Pimas or Imuris, the Sobaiguipuru (Sobai-hwip-uri), and the Sobas-Piatos. These groups extended in an arc from the Altar River valley eastward to the Magdalena, Santa Cruz and San Pedro Valleys and then northwards to Bac and Chuk Shon (Tucson) along the Santa Cruz and to the Gila along the San Pedro.

As early as 1539-1542 the Sobaguipuri were visited by Spaniards on their way to and from Zuni. (The Sobaguipuri were in direct communication with Zuni and had lots of turquoise jewelry from the latter.) Relations were friendly at first but in 1542 the Spaniards had to fight their way through Sonora due to hostility created by the raping of native women and the destruction of the Ashiwi pueblo of Hawikuh. The coastal Sobas and some 'O'odham-speaking people along the Colorado River were also visited briefly in 1539-1540. In 1632 a Franciscan priest tried to reach the 'O'odham from Zuni but the latter killed him.

During the early 1640's Spanish soldiers attempted the forceful conquest of the Imuris but this failed. The latter were described as a "ferocious and barbarous nation" but in 1645 some Franciscan friars found them friendly. The Jesuit order prevented the Franciscans from beginning work among the northern 'O'odham, however. During the 1640's to 1670's Jesuit missionaries worked among the nearby Ópata and Spanish miners and ranchers settled near Opodepe. 'O'odham people were sometimes baptized and others, perhaps, were forced to serve as laborers. In any case, in 1686 an 'O'odham leader (Kokawi) from the Huachuca area was hanged for conspiracy to start a rebellion (in alliance with friendly Apache groups who were by then at war with the Spanish Empire). In 1689 the Spaniards attacked the 'O'odham town of Mututicachi, killing all of the men and selling all of the women and children to the south. They were allegedly in league with the Apaches. Warfare in the Bacuachi-Huachuca region continued through 1690.

The Spaniards were now extremely anxious to missionize the northern 'O'odham, or at least to militarily control them, so as to prevent a unified Indian insurrection. In 1687 Father Eusibio Kino, a Jesuit, began working with the Upper Pima at Cosari (Dolores). A friendly 'O'odham, Coxi, was appointed as "Captain-General of the Pimas" and efforts were rapidly made to convert the 'O'odham of the Tubutama-Caborca-Tumacacori region, 1689-1693.

In 1695 the 'O'odham of the Tubutama-Caborca area rebelled. The insurrection was eventually crushed but several churches were destroyed. In the meantime, in 1692 Spanish soldiers attempted to force the Sobaiguipuri of the San Pedro River to become enemies of the Apaches and, with Father Kino's help, this was accomplished by 1697.

This is, in retrospect, one of the single most important events in modern 'O'odham history. From 1697 on, with few exceptions, the 'O'odham and the Apaches were enemies,

a fact which tended to make the 'O'odham much more vulnerable to Spanish control and also caused considerable loss of life.

The effect of Spanish intrusion on the northern 'O'odham was disastrous indeed. By 1689 Father Kino had contacted 1200 Upper Pimas at El Tupo, Tubutama, Saric and Tucabavia, aside from several thousand in the Cosari-Imuris region. By 1730 only 1,500 Upper Pimas were left altogether. In the 1760's the Upper Pimas were virtually extinguished. By 1693 Kino had met 4,000 Sobas in the Caborca area but in 1730 only 723 were left. In the 1770's about 2,500 'O'odham were left in all of the missions of the Upper Pima-Soba-Tucson area, but many of these were Papago people brought in to replace the dying Upper Pimas and Sobas.

The Sobaiguipuri of the San Pedro Valley began to abandon that valley as early as 1698 when Captain Coro (a leader won over by the Spaniards) moved from the pueblo of Quiburi to a place called Los Reyes near present-day Patagonia. After receiving no appreciable Spanish assistance he moved back to Quiburi in 1705, but already the warfare created with the Apaches made the San Pedro Valley dangerous. Before 1732 the Sobaiguiprui of Humari abandoned the northern San Pedro and moved west to join the Gila River Pimas. In 1762 the balance of the San Pedro Sobarguipuri moved west to join other 'O'odham at Suamca, Bac, and Chuk Shon (Tuscon). Gradually the Sobaigupuri disappeared as a distinctive group although as late as 1786 the term is still used to refer to the 'O'odham of the Bac-Chuk Shon region.

Many rebellions took place, especially after 1740, and it must not be supposed that the Sobas and Upper Pimas accepted annihilation without resistance. The Spanish Empire was an explcitative state and this was especially true whenever soldiers and settlers began to move in, seize land, and require cheap Indian labor. In 1748 the presidio (fort) of Pitic was moved to Pópulo where 'O'odham and Séri families were settled. The Spanish soldiers and hangers-on immediately were given the American's fields. When the latter protested, eighty families were arrested and all of the women were "deported" (sold) to Guatemala and elsewhere. The result was a rebellion which lasted off and on for almost thirty years.

The Spaniards always attempted to keep Indians divided and 'O'odham warriors from the north were used to try to crush the Séris and 'O'odham at Pópulo. The leader of the northern 'O'odham was Luis Oacpicagigua (Wakpikahiwa) of Saric. He was rewarded with the title of "Captain-General of the Pimas" but by 1751 he was organizing a rebellion of his own because of the alleged oppressive treatment of his people by the Jesuits. A Papago leader (Javanino or Havinino) aided him and the revolt spread to Sonoitac and Caborca. Some 100 Spaniards were killed but eventually Spanish troops gained the upper hand. Tubac presidio was established to better control the northern 'O'odham.

By 1756, however, Piatos ('O'odham) from the Caborca area and Sibubapas ('O'odham also) from the south were joining Séri rebels in the Cerro Prieto and Bacoatzi mountains. There they resisted for many years, even killing a governor of Sonora in the Cerro Prieto in 1775. In 1776 it was said that Piatos ('O'odham of Caboraca), Apaches and Séris were combining to raid the Magdalena Valley. Unrest continued on for many years - in 1780, for example, one of the reasons given for establishing Spanish forts on the Colorado River was to prevent the Piatos from fleeing to the Papago area. In 1782 the Piatos were described as very "inconstant."

On the other hand, Franciscan missionaries and Spanish troops were working very hard to concentrate the 'O'odham at the missions of Bac, Tumacacori, and San Ignacio. (The missions of Tubutama, Oquitoa, Cocóspera, and Caborca also existed but were very weak.) Most of the 'O'odham at these missions were now said to be Papagos from the desert interior.

This was a tragic period for the 'O'odham. The efforts of the Franciscans and the soldiers kept them from making alliances with the Apaches and the Quechan (the latter successfully threw the Spaniards out of the Colorado River in 1781 with some help from the Hiatit 'O'odham or "Sand papagos"). At the same time the 'O'odham population was declining so that their ability to resist the Spaniards on their own was becoming much less.

In the 1680's there were at least 30,000 northern 'O'odham but by the 1760's, as indicated earlier, the Upper Pimas were almost gone, the Sobas or Piatos were much reduced, the Sobaguipuri were in decline, and the Papagos were reportedly "much reduced"

also. In the 1770's only 8,000 northern 'O'odham remained, distributed as follows. 2,500 in the missions from Tucson to Caborca and Cocóspera; 2,500 Papagos; and 3,000 Gila Pimas. Only the latter group had experienced an increase, and that due to refugees joining them.

After the 1780's the history of the northern 'O'odham is one of Papagos and Gila Pimas, since the Soba-Piatos, the Upper Pimas, and the Sobaguipuri ceased to exist as separate groups. Their remnants were absorbed either by the Papagos or by the Gila River 'O'odham pueblos.

The Spaniards continued to use 'O'odham warriors whenever possible, however. In 1781-1783 Gila Pimas were used (along with Maricopas) in an unsuccessful attempt to crush the Quechan. In 1781 also some 'O'odham men were recruited as soldiers to serve at old Tubuc presidio. In 1787 there were about 80 'O'odham and Ópata soldiers there, supplied with 24 muskets and 23 defective carbines. They were paid significantly less than Spanish soldiers doing the same work. (In 1787 there were 906 Spanish-led soldiers in Sonora including groups at Tucson, Tubac, Altar, and Terrenate in northern 'O'odham country. These soldiers and their retired comrades generally established cattle ranches near the forts, thus taking up 'O'odham land).

The 'O'odham peoples known as Papagos and Gila Pimas first saw Spaniards in 1539-1540. In the 1590's they were also visited by Spaniards from New Mexico. In 1604-1605 the Ozaras (Oseras), an 'O'odham group living on the Colorado River at the mouth of the Gila, were visited by a similar expedition. Otherwise these 'O'odham groups were left alone until the 1690's-early 1700's when Jesuits and soldiers passed through their lands. The Spaniards were looking for mission sites, a land route to California, and information on 'O'odham-Apache relations. Father Kino distributed new crops, horses, and cattle to many Papago and Gila 'O'odham, in anticipation of founding missions. The missions, for the most part, were never established because of the 1695 rebellion in the Tubutama-Caborca region. Nonetheless, Sonoitac (Sonoydag) and Tubutama missions, among others, existed either within or at the borders of the Papago area in the 1690's.

The missions declined, as described above, until 1732 when a new group of Jesuits arrived and Sonoitac, Suamca, Bac, and Guevavi became active centers for missionization. Many Papago 'O'odham were converted by these missions until the 1751 rebellion resulted in the destruction of Sonoitac and setbacks elsewhere. Nonetheless, the Papago region tended to be depopulated in the 1760's-1780's as the missionaries (now Franciscans) sought to replace dying Upper Pimas with Papagoes. To some extent this was offset by the flight of Piatos to the Papago area.

Some Papago and most Gila Pimas were able to remain out of the range of Spanish missionization, but were definitely affected by Spanish activity. For example, the need for cheap labor and slaves to work in Spanish ranches and mines in Sonora led to continuous raids to acquire captives. Most of the northern tribes became both victims of this system and suppliers to it. For example, the Quechan would capture Halchidhomas who were sold to the Papagos who sold them to the Spaniards. In turn, the Maricopas and Gila Pimas captured Quechans who were sold to the Spaniards. And so on. These slaves were called "Nixoras" or "Niforas," a name also applied to the Yavapai specifically because so many of their people were sold.

This slave-trade resulted in increased warfare and decreased Indian population. Only the Europeans ultimately benefited. This trade in Indian flesh lasted at least until the 1870's on the U.S. side of the border and until 1910 in Mexico.

The period from 1790 to 1810 was relatively quiet. Many Apache groups were living at peace near Tucson and elsewhere. The missions were in a state of decline or abandonment. Most northern 'O'odham were left alone except for the gradual expansion of cattle ranches. However, these ranches largely were being developed in the depopulated Altar and Magdalena valleys or at the edge of Séri land, farther south. In 1810 the Mexican struggle for independence began but Sonora was largely unaffected. Spanish imperialist commanders were able to recruit Ópata troops to fight for Spain and they were victorious in 1811.

In 1820-1821 these same Ópata troops rebelled, joined by Yaquis and perhaps some Papagos. The rebels fought bravely but were eventually defeated by troops representing the new Mexican Empire of Agustín Iturbide.

A new era commenced for the Native People of Sonora-Arizona in 1824. Mexico became a republic, with a new equalitarian constitution. One of the ideals of the republic was, however, to abolish tribes, tax Indian land, and open up communal lands to appropriation by Spanish-speaking persons (called "Mestizos" or "blancos" but many were simply detribalized Indians). Sonora and Sinaloa were to be merged together, since Sonora had an Indian majority and was considered unstable. In 1825 the Yaquis and Mayos rebelled, soon aided by some Pimas and Opatas. These struggles lasted off-and-on until 1910 (or later) and are too complex to be reviewed here.

Warfare between Apaches and Mexicans began to resume in the 1820's and many northern 'O'odham were drawn into this fighting as allies of the Mexican garrisons at Tucson and elsewhere. Also Mexicans continued to purchase Apache, Yavapai and other captive children as slaves and from time to time also paid cash for Apache scalps. All of this stimulated bitter warfare which plagued the 'O'odham until the early 1870's. Meanwhile, wealthy Mexicans continued to expand their cattle ranches and mines at the expense of the 'O'odham. For example, Manuel Gandara, a major "conservative" leader in Sonora politics, made claim to a big area in papago country. Soon many Papagos were being reduced to the status of "cowboys," seasonal farmhands and house-servants in the Altar Valley. The same thing began to happen in the Tucson-Tubac corridor but Apache warfare prevented the large-scale occupation of that area by Mexicans.

In 1833-34 mines were discovered in the Quitobac-Sonoitac region, bringing thousands of Mexicans directly into Papago cuntry. By 1835 one camp alone had 2-3,000 inhabitants. At the same time fighting was beginning to develop between Sonoitac, Caborca, and Nogales over the control of springs and water-holes, as Mexican ranchers pushed north into Papago-held areas.

In 1840-1841 the Papago 'O'odham rebelled under the leadership of Colosio, perhaps in alliance with Quechans and Kamias who were liberating the San Diego (California) region at the same time (1839-1842). Colosio drove the miners away but Gándara and his troops soon punished them. Nonetheless, small groups of Papagos continued to fight with the cattlemen over control of water-holes until as late as 1898.

Meanwhile, the Gila Pimas and northern Papagos were beginning to be visited by parties of white and mixed-blood fur trappers and travelers going west along the Gila River. In 1826 a group of Pimas or Papagos and Maricopas attacked a party of French and Anglo trappers near Gila Bend. Possibly they were asked to do this by the Mexican nommandant at Tucson or perhaps they were offended by the trappers in some way. In any case, a large group of Anglo trappers soon killed an estimated 110 natives and destroyed a village in revenge. This is notable as the only record of a fight between Anglos and 'O'odham until the range wars of later years.

The conquest of Mexican territory in the Southwest by the United States in 1846-48 had little impact upon most northern 'O'odham since the latter were not really under Mexican control and most of their lands were south of the 1848 treaty line in any event. However, thousands of U.S. troops and travelers passed through the Gila Pima country, followed by 6-9,000 Anglos and 6-15,000 Mexicans in 1849 on their way to secure gold in California. The early 1850's saw a continuous stream of gold-seekers pass through Pima and Papago lands. As one white writer said: "For a period of thirty years (1859-1880) ...the Pimas were visited by some of the most vile specimans of humanity that the white race had produced..." (Russell; The Pima Indians, p. 32).

In 1853, without being so much as consulted or informed, the lands of the Papago were severed by a new U.S.-Mexican treaty. Those north of the line were transferred to U.S. jurisdiction along with the Gila Pimas. A very large part of Papago territory was left to Mexican jurisdiction, including the sacred zone of the Cerro del Pinacate and the Gulf of California.

A new era then commenced, from 1853 to about 1875, in which white settlers and Mexicans living in the Nogales, Tucson, and Gila-Salt valleys were almost totally dependent upon 'O'odham warriors for defense from Apaches living to the east. 'O'odham men were recruited for use as scouts and soldiers in addition to fighting on their own. The whites were also dependent upon the agricultural production of the Gila Pimas and Bac-Tucson Papagos. As a result, relations between Anglos and 'O'odham were fairly friendly in this period but (and this is a big one) the United States failed to negotiate

any treaties with the 'O'odham. As a result the entire 'O'odham homeland was potentially (although illegally) open to white settlers and only the Apaches (in effect) prevented wholesale invasion.

In 1859 a part of the Gila Pima area was set aside as a reservation (64,000 acres). To this was later added 81,000 acres in 1869 and 9,000 acres in 1876. In 1879 the entire Salt River Valley was temporarily set aside in order to control white occupancy but shortly thereafter it was reduced to become the Salt River Reservation, separated by Mormon settlements from the Gila River Reservation. In 1874 some 69,000 acres were set aside for the Papago at Bac and in 1884 the very tiny Gila Bend Papago Reservation was established. Thus the vast majority of Papagos and some Pimas continued to live for years outside of any reservation.

The government offered very little in the way of services or protection to the 'O'odham in these years. In the meantime, white outlaws, ranchers, and settlers began to move in, discouraged only by the Apache (as mentioned above). White ranchers began to occupy Papago lands in the Santa Cruz Valley and Mormon and other non-Indian settlers commenced settling at key points along the Gila and Salt rivers. In 1859 and in 1862 government officials warned that the flow of these rivers in many drought years was insufficient even for Gila Pima farmers but no action was taken. In the early 1870's Mormon settlers began to divert Salt River water at Tempe and farther upstream. In 1867 whites began to settle at Florence upstream on the Gila, diverting needed water also. By 1872-73 the Pimas were beginning to run short of water, an introduction to the starvation and suffering to come later.

Miners were also beginning to invade Papago country, as with a silver strike at Arivaca in 1857. But again, most mining activity had to await the defeat of the Apaches.

From about 1875 through the 1880's and 1890's the Gila Pimas experienced, in effect, the destruction of their traditional society, religion, and independence. Undoubtedly the passage of tens of thousands of non-Indians through the area helped to denude the native vegetation, created erosion, and accentuated the rapid run-off of water with consequent silting. This was soon worsened by cattle-grazing which damaged the up-river watersheds of the Gila and Salt rivers (as soon as Apache people were confined to reservations, making land available for cattlemen). The banks of the Gila and Salt lower downstream were also damaged, leading to the widening of the river channels, silting, and problems with ditch management. From the 1870's through 1904 a series of drought years also served to make worse an already bad ecological situation. However, the primary reason for the crisis in Gila Pima life arose from the efforts of Mormon and other settlers to seize native water rights.

The whites at Florence continued to take off water and this became worse when a Mormon colony began to divert water on the Gila at Pueblo Viejo in 1880. By 1900 there were 3,000 persons there. In 1886 the Florence Canal Company began diverting so much water that the Gila literally dried up. The Bureau of Indian Affairs agent among the Pimas protested and the U.S. Geological Survey agreed that water could not be taken without damaging the reservation. The Interior Department, as in more recent times, failed to act and as a result:

> A thrifty, industrious, and peaceful people that had been in effect a friendly nation rendering succor and assistance to troops for many years when they sorely needed it was deprived of the rights inhering from centuries of residence. The marvel is that the starvation, despair, and dissipation that resulted did not overwhelm the tribe. (Russell, The Pima Indians, p. 33).

The result was many years of starvation and malnutrition with important social consequences. The Pimas were forced to shift westwards to catch whatever irrigation waste water reappeared in the Gila bed, however, the settlement of the Phoenix area by whites and the numerous Mormon colonies in the Tempe-Mesa area precluded much use of alternate sites and resulted in other problems. Pimas were also forced to become wage-laborers for white farmers and for the Southern Pacific Railroad and tragically also began to denude their own land by cutting mesquite wood to sell to whites. In 1895 they cut 462 cords for sale but by 1905 they were cutting 11,860 cords! It should be stressed that the Pimas were damaging a major traditional source of protein (the mesquite bean) in order to obtain cash for purchasing whhte goods. This is symptomatic

of the major change occurring: the Pimas were being transformed from independent, self-sufficient farmers and gatherers into a proletarianized labor force, dependent more and more on white-produced goods. The government and missionaries fostered this transformation by persuading the Pimas to imitate white ways of living, eating, and dressing.

Other corollary changes were as follows: (1) alcoholism began to become a major problem after 1878, resulting in many deaths; (2) the old government structure began to collapse since the "chief" (Antonio Azul) was helpless and village headmen also lost authority; (3) the traditional village system was weakened as population fluctuated due to migrations to obtain food and work; and (4) traditional religious values and cultural self-confidence began to collapse.

These trends were accelerated, especially in the 1880's, as the Bureau of Indian Affairs' agency at Sacaton gradually assumed virtually complete control of Gila Pima affairs at the tribal level. In 1881-1882 (by way of illustration) the agent sent Pima police under his control to Kwahadk village fifty miles to the south. They were to arrest some men, who were innocent of any crime, solely for the purpose of providing prisoners to work on the agent's own private farm. Two Kwahadk men were killed by the police.

By 1887 agent Elmer A. Howard was able to assume dictatorial control, forcing children to go to school and punishing non-cooperative elders with his "Court of Indian Offenses." Pima men who were willing to cut their hair and build adobe houses and sheds were rewarded with a wagon (as well as with jobs in the police, etc.).

In the meantime, also, the spiritual life of the Gila Pimas was being undermined by Rev. C. H. Cook, a Presbyterian who ran the government school from 1871 through 1878. After 15 years of missionary effort Cook was able to baptize his first convert in 1885-1886. By 1899 nearly half the tribe was baptized and Cook proceeded to literally take over 'O'odham local government. In each village a church was built, an elder was appointed (usually the former headman) along with deacons to enforce law, order, and "moral standards," and the Presbyterian Church became almost a clerical state on the reservation. Cook remained a powerful force in Pima affairs until his death in 1911.

The Presbyterian organization provided a governmental structure in the Pima villages to a degree, until about 1910 but at the price of making the River 'O'odham dependent upon alien leadership and an alien value system. In the meantime the abuses of the secular white world were not halted as when, in 1878-1879, the Southern Pacific Railroad was built across Pima-Papago land without any cession of the native aboriginal title.

In 1910 the BIA decided to force the Gila Pima people to accept 10 acre allottments, a move which was tied in with a corrupt scheme to defraud the 'O'odham. The latter was thwarted but the allottment system was put into effect. As a result the traditional villages were largely destroyed and people began to live in dispersed, isolated households with a breakdown, of course, in communal sharing of work and food. This was, perhaps, one of the greatest diasters to strike the Pima up to that date.

The diversion of 'O'odham water to white farmers had made the reservation little more than a "home-base" for people who were fast becoming wage-laborers. In 1917 the BIA expressed pleasure at the prospect of the 'O'odham becoming cotton-pickers on white cotton farms, a prospect which was soon realized as 7,000 pickers were needed by 1918.

From 1919 to 1921 there were many fights over the Florence-Casa Grande Water Project, a scheme which was supposed to irrigate 35,000 acres of Pima land. When it was completed, however, in 1921-1922 the 'O'odham didn't even receive a trickle. Then the government launched the costly San Carlos Dam project which by 1929 had water available to irrigate 50,000 acres of Pima land (as well as many more white acres). Unfortunately, the BIA had done nothing to get prepared and it wasn't until 1937 that the 'O'odham began to receive any water.

The years during which the BIA was preparing ditches, leveling land, etc., for the project brought another great change in Pima life. Many men became accustomed to working for the project (for example in 1935 the cash earnings of Pima families averaged $707 of which only $363 was from farming; in 1940, after the BIA work was completed, cash earnings had fallen to little more than half of the 1935 figure). More significantly, the resulting water system was so set up that it had to be largely maintained by Project crews and machines, eliminating much of the old cooperative way of doing things and Indian initiatives.

Thus by 1940 the Gila Pima were more dependent upon bureaucracy, less self-sufficient, and, of course, totally without the means to reconstruct an agricultural life after years of wage-labor work. The Pimas, in short, were forced to go cotton-picking again, or later, to work in marginal occupations in the Phoenix area.

In the meantime, whites, using Pima, Apache, and Yavapai water, had proceeded to seize the greater Salt-Gila region. In 1900 Indians still were 33% of the Pinal County population. In 1960 they were 1% of the Phoenix metropolitan area population.

Education for the Pima people was totally unrelated to the 'O'odham language or culture and was completely controlled by white missionaries or bureaucrats. The first day school was opened in 1871 followed by a boarding school in 1881. Day schools were then gradually established throughout the Pima area by 1904. Many children were sent to the Phoenix boarding school after 1891 and the "outing system" was implemented. This latter was a technique whereby 'O'odham children were kept away from their families for most (or all) of the year by placing them with white families in the Phoenix-Mesa area during the "vacation" period. The children served as domestics and laborers in return for their board.

No system could have been better designed to destroy the 'O'odham culture and language and to train Indians to be wage-laborers rather than self-sufficient persons. The 'O'odham learned how to perform manual or domestic labor skills for wages and did not learn how to run their own farms or process traditional foods. They thus became a new kind of people, a "lumpen-proletariat" (a marginal working class), with little or no control over their own reservation. Not surprisingly, the tribal councils created in the 1935-1937 period at both Gila River and Salt River were weak, virtually advisory bodies, and real power was vested only in powerful white agencies such as the BIA, the various water project boards, and the interlocking corporate network controlling the Phoenix region.

To the south the Papago 'O'odham were experiencing somewhat different but related changes. In the 1860's the Papagos were dispersed over a large area from Tucson and Nogales in the east, to the Gila Range (near Yuma) in the west, to the Gulf of California in the southwest, and to the Altar Valley in the south. Reportedly they numbered 6,300 in 1865, however, many groups in Mexico or in the far west were probably not counted. As mentioned earlier, small reservations were set aside at Bac and Gila Bend but these served only a small proportion of the Desert 'O'odham. In the 1880's 5,000 Papagoes were said to still be alive, including 400-500 on the reserves. In 1903 there were 4,422 Papagoes in the U.S. distributed as follows: 680 at or near the Gila Pima agency plus 1,200 "nomadic" in that same area; 523 at Bac; 340 near Tucson; 679 in the Fresnal Valley; and 1,000 in Pima County generally (i.e., in the area of the later Papago Reservation).

Between the 1870's and virtually the present day the Papago people had to resist, in whatever way they could, the invasion of their homeland by Anglo and Mexican cattlemen and miners. These invasions occurred from every direction but the cattlemen principally invaded from the Tucson-Nogales corridor (Anglos) and from the Altar Valley (Mexicans). Miners roamed freely and entered from the west also.

During the 1870's and 1880's miners invaded in great numbers, making "discoveries" at many points. By 1884 there were reportedly 10,000 invaders at Quijotoa and dozens of mines were operated in the Comobabi and Quijotoa regions. Thus the Papago people were robbed of their mineral resources without compensation and without permission (and all in defiance of Fifth Amendment constitutional protections). In 1918 when the Papago Reservation was belatedly established the "mineral rights" were kept by the U.S. for the use of white miners. Still more significantly the rich Ajo copper mines and "the strip" (an area seized by whites in the heart of Papago country) were excluded totally from the reserve, along with all that portion of Papago land lying between Ajo and Yuma, almost all of the land in the Santa Cruz Valley, and the area from the present reserve north to the Gila River Reservation.

In the 1870's and 1880's white cattlemen seized the upper Santa Cruz Valley and began to move west, toward the Baboquivari Mountains. From about 1885 through the 1890's a "Papago War of Resistance" was fought with battles taking place over precious waterholes and with 'O'odham expropriating the cattle of trespassers. Nonetheless, some white cattlemen concentrated in "the strip," holding it until 1931.

Meanwhile, the vicious Diaz dictatorship in Mexico after 1882 began to confiscate Indian lands in Sonora. This resulted in near continuous wars against the Yaquis, Mayos and Seris and relentless pressure on the Papago people still in Mexico. Many battles were fought. In 1898, near El Pomo, Mexican ranchers and Papagos clashed. The result was a general exodus of Papagos from Mexico, a necessity since many Indians (principally Yaquis but also including 'O'odham) were being sold as slaves to Tehuantepec, Oaxaca, and Yucatan (as late as 1907-1910). Many Yaqui refugees (hundreds of them) also joined the Papago refugees, most settling west of the Baboquivari Mountains or in the Tucson area. Meanwhile other Papagos were forced to move into the desert area west of Hermosillo, serving as cowboys for Mexican ranchers who were exterminating the Seri Indians.

During this period also the Hiatit 'O'odham (Sand Papagos) living between the Gulf and the Gila River, west towards Yuma, were largely exterminated or driven into hiding. (Those Papagos living in Mexico today are still subject to persecution and continue to flee, when possible, across the border or they are driven to the towns where they eke out a bare living in the slums).

In the 1920's the BIA began working with the people in the new Papago Reservation, principally drilling wells to supply water. Gradually also roads were improved and cattle-raising projects were encouraged, especially during the 1930's.

Schooling was as anti-'O'odham in the Papago area as it was in the Pima. In 1865-1875 the government illegally financed a school at Bac operated by Catholic nuns. Most Papago children, however, were taken away to boarding schools at Sacaton, Phoenix, Santa Fe (New Mexico) and elsewhere. Papago people reportedly deeply resented the forcible removal of their children.

By 1935, 2,100 children were going to school (500 in mission schools, 376 in BIA day schools, 124 in boarding schools, and 56 in state-controlled schools). In 1945 two-thirds of the school-age children (over 2,000) were in school. By 1958 almost all were in school, of whom 894 were now enrolled in state-controlled schools.

Again, no instruction was offered in the 'O'odham language or culture and the educational system was a completely alien, authoritarian, and anti-Indian one. One of its results, as at Gila Pima, was to create a new class of white-oriented or culturally-confused Papagos who, in turn, helped to undermine traditional Papago values and procedures.

As at Gila Pima, missionaries also attempted to disrupt Papago life but at Papago more than one sect was involved. Papagos at Bac were early under Catholic influence and in 1915 a Franciscan priest took up residence at Cobabi, moving to Topawa in 1923. In 1912 the Presbyterians entered the area and by 1920 had churches at Topawa, Chonlic and San Miguel (with a school at the latter place).

Basically, the Catholics and Presbyterians concentrated in the same region, the area west of the Baboquivari Mountains, and there a sectarian split developed. The more conservative Papagos drifted towards or into a Catholic faction while the boarding school graduates tended towards a Presbyterian faction. The latter also tended to be "wealthier" Papagos with family cattle herds and control of water-holes developed in the earlier years.

Papago politics began to split along factional lines. The League of Papago Chiefs, the more traditional group, tended to be pro-Catholic while the "Good Government League," comprised largely of school graduates, tended to be pro-Protestant. The League of Papago Chiefs also was allied with the "Montezumas," traditional Indians influenced by the teachings of Dr. Carlos Montezuma, a Yavapai medical doctor who continuously fought the BIA bureaucracy from 1911 until his death. Another powerful figure was Father Bonaventura Oblasser, a Catholic missionary, who tried to play an influential role as a "middleman" in Papago-BIA relations.

In any case, traditional Papago village democracy was gradually being replaced by BIA-imposed agency dominance or missionary interference, however, this process never proceeded as far as at Gila Pima.

Another factor in Papago life was the spread of a Papago-controlled and modified form of Christianity called by outsiders the "Cult of St. Francis." Under the influence

of Papago (and perhaps Yaqui) refugees from Sonora little churches or chapels began to be built in the villages by native people themselves. These churches were maintained by Papagos and became a positive factor in communal life.

In 1931 "the strip" was finally restored to the Papago people but economic conditions generally deteriorated. By 1939 one-third of all Papago income was derived from off-reservation wage labor (as cotton-pickers and domestic servants, in the main). The rich mines at Ajo continued to be white-controlled and other Papago land (outside of the reservation) were increasingly unavailable for subsistence use. (Later, parts of this Papago land were taken for the Organ Pipe Cactus National Monument and for a Department of Defense bombing range.)

After 1845 cotton-picking became even more important and by 1960 the great majority of Papagos were seasonal farm laborers. Papago settlements began to grow near most of the cities of southern Arizona while other 'O'odham returned for part of the year to the reservation.

In 1934 the Papago people were persuaded to adopt a tribal constitution setting up a government with eleven districts, each with its own council, and a common tribal council. The new government was at first controlled by wealthier Papago cattlemen from the southeastern part of the reservation, who also tended to be of the "Good Government League" faction favoring cooperation with BIA policies. Thus little change took place. The schools continued to be managed by white people, using white goals and methods. "Economic development" also tended to be white-oriented, resulting in (among other things) the leasing of mineral deposits to white companies employing primarily non-Indians.

The exploitation of the 'O'odham people and their resources and mismanagement by the Bureau of Indian Affairs has continued up to recent times, or perhaps has even accelerated since the early 1950's. By way of illustration, the Papago Tribal Council several years ago discharged an attorney who had allegedly badly mismanaged the tribe's financial transactions and had obtained a contract with the tribe which allowed him to amass a huge fortune. This entire process was, of course, subject to the supervision and approval of the Bureau of Indian Affairs. Questions are, therefore, to be raised about the efficiency (or even honesty) of the Bureau during recent years.

In 1954, by way of further illustration, new copper deposits were discovered on the Papago Reservation. The BIA refused to allow the Indians to manage their own money (received from the American Smelting and Refining Company). As a result, the money was prevented from being used for capitalization or for earning interest. Instead it was paid to them in welfare, thus excluding them from receiving welfare through public funds. Their land was leased to non-Indian farmers, and managed by the BIA officials. The older forms of native livelihood within the reservation largely disappeared from the Papago culture. Being forced to look outside the reservation for employment, such as cotton picking, laboring, cowboy jobs, etc., forced them away from their traditional culture. all of this has had a profound effect on their culture, and especially on their language.

With regard to language, 'O'odham has been the universal language on the reservation, but has now become mixed to some degree with English idioms. The children spoke only Papago to each other, until recently. The white teachers in the schools have been attempting to teach the youngsters English when they start school at 6 years of age. However, their learning is imitative, learning by rote memory. According to one report, of those who use English, it is purely imitative, and they have no real understanding of the concepts involved. In 1960 less than 2% of the Papagos were bilingual in English. The Papago language remains intact to the extent that it is a separate language, unintelligible to those whose language is English or Spanish. In the Papago settlements and reservation, Papago is the operational language.

The villages of the Papago range from considerable modernization to extensive traditionalism. The latter villages are relatively isolated from the non-Papago world. Elements or traditionalism are: the little native-built churches, native healers, traditional houses and ritual structures. These are centers of traditional ceremonies, traditional medicine and internal cohesion. Four villages have become known for their resistence to modernization and alien ways. One refused to permit a school to be built in its village.

In Ralph Patrick's study of the Papago in 1972, he found that only eleven villages of the Papagos could be considered modern and well related to the mainstream society, whereas twenty-eight settlements or villages were considered to be definitely traditional. Twelve villages could be considered to be in-between these two positions.

According to a study of the Bac area by Bernard Fontana (1960) the only school in operation was San Xavier which ended at grade 6. This meant that the termination of the Papago Indian's education was at grade 6 (unless they transferred). Fontana claimed that the students became bored with school and failed to see any connection between formal schooling and a lifetime occupation. They failed to see the advantage of formal schooling in being able to deal with the Indian world.

Conclusions

Now what conclusions can be drawn from this background analysis, insofar as the NALE project is concerned?

First, the intensive degree to which both Ásh̀iwi and 'O'odham cultures have been under attack for some 400 years should be clear.

Second, the continuity of both Ásh̀iwi and 'O'odham resistance to external aggression should be clear; or, to be more precise, the reader should be aware that neither the Ásh̀iwi nor any 'O'odham group has ever voluntarily chosen to give up its identity, language, or social existence although certain 'O'odham groups have been shattered or eliminated by virtue of warfare, deaths through missionization, and outright genocide.

Third, the Ásh̀iwi situation is somewhat different from that of the 'O'odham in that the Ásh̀iwi people are more concentrated and politically unified than are the 'O'odham who are scattered over a vast area and are under many diverse political jurisdictions.

Fourth, the extent to which non-Indian controlled agencies (such as the BIA, the missionary groups, and other organizations such as water project boards, private corporations, universities, etc.) have had a powerful and sometimes damaging impact upon the Ásh̀iwi and 'O'odham should be better understood.

Fifth, the extent to which the 'O'odham, especially, have been proletarianized and colonialized, with all of the social-psychological consequences arising therefrom, should be apparent. (This will be discussed more fully below.)

Sixth. it should be especially clear that the Ásh̀iwi and especially the 'O'odham do not have problems today simply because they are poor, or because they are lazy, or because they do not speak or read English well (et cetera). The major problems of these Native People can be traced directly to aggression carried out against them, aggression continuing up to the present day. Tragically this aggression can be often traced directly to the actions of Federal agencies, to inaction by supposedly protective Federal agencies, or to ineptness (or perhaps even corruption or collusion) on the part of the Bureau of Indian Affairs.

Modern community development theory very definitely relates to the situation under discussion. Community development experience generally holds that viable, democratic, self-motivating communities can only exist when the people themselves learn how to exercise control over their own destiny and when, of course, they have (or acquire) the "power" to do so. Several points are quite clear as regards Native People: (1) no meaningful democracy or self-development can occur when information is available and government processes are carried on in a language not understood by the majority of the people; and (2) the general policies of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, white-controlled schools, missionary schools, and other agencies have been to take away power from the native communities and, at the same time, to use a foreign language for all major transactions. Thus, for example, the University of Arizona and its faculty have issued numerous reports of vital interest to 'O'odham people but none of these (until a recent work on healing was published) appear to have been made available in 'O'odham (either in a written form or by means of audio-casettes).

Of great significance, then, is the fact that the NALE project would appear to be the very first major effort to apply democratic community development theory to the entire

'O'odham people of the Papago Reservation. This must be kept in mind in terms of evaluating the project.

It must also be stressed that theory also teaches us that carrying out true community development in an extremely colonialized setting will be a task of incredible difficulty. Obstacles will include: (1) the resistance of all entrenched alien agencies who will see self-empowerment as a threat to their own power, salaries, budgets, professional reputations, prestige, and expertise; (2) the resistance of those Native People who have become indoctrinated by alien systems or who are employed by alien agencies or who economically profit from colonialism; (3) the passivity or hopelessness of people who have "given up;" (4) the negativeness and self-destructiveness of people who have "escaped" into alcoholism or drugs or who are unable to be positive towards and supportive of other persons (that is, their own self-contempt leads them to attack others by means of gossip or other forms of "tearing down;") and (5) the ideological power of religious and secular systems of "belief" which have the effect of denigrating Native accomplishments, values etc., and exalting European/alien accomplishments and values; and which wage comprehensive "immersion" campaigns to undermine native institutions or traditions (i.e., missionary groups, white school curricula, white television, white movies, white newspapers, white comic books, et cetera).

A true community development approach by-passes alien "experts" and uses their knowledge (when and if it is valid) only as a supportive tool. Only in this manner can the indigenous people come to perceive themselves as having self-worth and the potential for running their own affairs. Unfortunately many "experts," who profess to be supportive of community development theory in the abstract, become hostile when faced with "rebellion" by the very people they are supposedly "expert" about. This is another obstacle, which may appear, and it is especially appropriate in Arizona and New Mexico where many non-Indian scholars have gained their professional reputations as "authorities" on this or that Native community, its culture, and its language.

In summary, the historical and current situation of the Ákhiwi and 'O'odham peoples, and especially of the latter, can lead us to expect great opposition to, and great difficulty for, the NALE project staff.

III. COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT THEORY AND THE NATIVE AMERICAN LANGUAGE EDUCATION PROJECT: AN OVER-ALL EVALUATION

Paulo Freire, in his Pedagogy of the Oppressed states:

> The oppressed, having internalized the image of the oppressor and adopted his guidelines, are fearful of freedom. Freedom would require them to eject this image and replace it with autonomy and responsibility. Freedom is acquired by conquest, not by gift. It must be pursued constantly and responsibly. . . .
>
> The oppressed suffer from the duality which has established itself in their inner-most being. They discover that without freedom they cannot exist authentically. Yet, although they desire authentic existence, they fear it. They are at one and the same time themselves and the oppressor whose consciousness they have internalized. . . .(pp. 31, 33).
>
> No pedagogy which is truly liberating can remain distant from the oppressed by treating them as unfortunates and by presenting for their emulation models from among the oppressors. The oppressed must be their own example in the struggle for their redemption. (p. 39)

These quotes from Freire are especially pertinent to the situation of Native American people. They are also extremely relevant to this project and especially to a "cost-effective" analysis.

We have gone into considerable detail to explore the history of the 'O'odham and Ashiwi peoples and we have discovered a situation of almost unparalleled oppression coupled with the erection of a classically colonial superstructure (i.e., white-controlled agencies) to continue that oppression. We have also sketched out, although briefly, some of the socio-psychological results of that oppression. They do need, however, to be reemphasized here.

Generation after generation of 'O'odham, for instance, have been indoctrinated with the thesis of White superiority in several crucial areas of life including religion, education, and government. In all of these areas, many 'O'odham have been "persuaded" to surrender their own control to outsiders and to, in effect, accept the invaders' assumptions about 'O'odham inferiority and incompetence.

To be more specific, what is the impact of several generations of students being successively beaten for speaking their native language in school? Why should one be disciplined for speaking one's own language (as if one were uttering filthy words)? It must be that the Indian language is so evil, or so obscene, in and of itself, that the white educators (who, like their missionary counterparts, are trying to "civilize" the "savage") have to suppress it. Or so it seems to many Indians who are effectively persuaded that the Indian language is, indeed, inferior.

We should stress that 'O'odham (and other) Indian persons are living right now, of young age (30 to 40, for example), who cannot speak their native tongue after having had it beaten out of them in mission schools.

In short, Freire's comments are very appropriate. Many native people have indeed accepted the oppressor's images, guidelines, and consciousness. This being the case any effort to utilize, in a positive way, the native language must overcome the internalized colonialism existing among 'O'odham and Ashiwi people.

Let's put it another way. A free people have no difficulty whatsoever in learning how to read and write. This is clearly shown in the cases of the Cherokee, Cree, and central Eskimo peoples who became 90 to 98% literate prior to being militarily conquered, teaching themselves. It is also shown by the fact that no native people have yet become literate in their own language since being conquered, when being taught by the colonizer's schools.

Let us emphasize this further: one cannot simply go out to an oppressed person and say "here, I will teach you how to write." The deeply ingrained self-contempt or self-deprecation of the oppressed person will constantly stand as an invisible barrier which the outsider may never even perceive. The truly oppressed, however, expects to fail and is constantly ashamed of having to expose his supposed incompetence to the eyes of others. Psychologically, he is often so castrated that he will either confirm his own prediction of failure or will withdraw and refuse to try.

A refusal to try to learn is to avoid the pain of public failure. The oppressed can still say, "Oh, I could learn if I really wanted to." But in reality he himself knows that he has failed again and that further lowers his self-esteem.

Thus a language project, although ostensibly focusing on only one facet of life, must engage itself with the accumulated results of 400 years of ethnocide and imperialism. This project must be understood in that light.

NATIVE AMERICAN COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT THEORY

It is widely believed that the contemporary underdevelopment of a community can be understood as the product solely of its own economic, political, social, and cultural characteristics or structure. Yet historical research demonstrates that contemporary underdevelopment is largely a historical product of past and continuing economic relations between the satellite underdeveloped communities and the developed metropolitan center. Furthermore, these relations are an essential part of the structure and development of the imperialist system. A related and also largely erroneous view is that the development of these underdeveloped communities will be generated or stimulated by diffusing capital, institutions, values, etc., into them from the national metropolis. Past experience in underdeveloped communities suggests that development occurs independently or in spite of imperialist manipulative relationships. Evidence suggests that the expansion of the imperialist system over the past centuries effectively penetrated even the most isolated sectors of the underdeveloped communities. Therefore the economic, political, social and cultural underdevelopment of satellite communities is the product of historical development of the industrial imperialist system.

The privileged position of the city has its origin in the colonial period. It was founded by the Conqueror to incorporate the indigenous population into the national economy for the purpose of exploitation of labor and resources. The regional city became an instrument of state domination. As a result metroplis-satellite relations are part of international imperialism, except that the former penetrates and structures the economic, political, and social life of internal colonies in a more rigid and intimate way. Furthermore, the national capitals, which are themselves satellites of international colonialism are in turn, national or provincial centers around which their local satellites orbit. Thus, a whole chain of constellations of imperial cities and underdeveloped communities relates to the imperialist system down to the smallest outpost in the colonial countryside, i.e., an Indian reservation. Moreover, each colonizing center serves to impose and maintain a monopolistic structure and exploitative relationship to its own underdeveloped communities. The present underdevelopment of Indian reservations are the result of centuries-long participation in the process of imperialist expansion. For instance, the development of industry in reservations has not brought greater riches to the Indians. Instead, it has converted the reservations into internal colonial satellites, de-capitalized them further, and deepened their underdevelopment. In order to adequately understand development in reservations an exploration should be made of the hypothesis that deals with the social and political structures whereby the capital centers tend to develop, while the outlying communities remain underdeveloped. The gap between the developed metropolis and the underdeveloped reservations is widening all the time. Comparative economic levels are becoming more sharply defined, which is causing increased dissatisfaction. Colonizing strategies will continue to bring no real economic changes or educational improvements in Indian communities.

Authentic community development as defined by Native Americans means setting priorities by the Indians themselves in their local communities through group participation. Their move is towards the ultimate goal of self-determination economically, as well as culturally and spiritually. Their goals foster and maintain development as a cultural and economic unit with traditional attachments. This happens when the Indians are socially conscious of their state of oppression. To the colonizer, it is his contention that this truly democratic process of community development on reservations is an obstacle to efficient mainstream development. The colonizer wants community development focused, channeled, and orientated towards national status quo development. The goals, according to the imperialist must meet metropole standards, as defined by the government planners, if community development is to prevent the increasing gap between the have and have-not communities. The implementation of these methods for achieveing specified goals may not be palatable to some community development workers, however, the ethical concerns that might ensue can be resolved when the ultimate achievements of development are pragmatically assessed.

Community development projects under the machiavellian scheme are often not attainable or successful for the community members because the underdevelopment problems have not been recognized by the colonizer. At the same time the Indians have not been given the opportunity to articulate their priorities of community problems and community changes.

Instead their priorities are determined by the external authorities, who define community development in accordance to power relationships and potentially threatening activities on the part of the Indian. Radical changes are seen by the oppressor as disrupting the status quo. Therefore changes deal only with the aspects of community life that are relatively pacifying activities and which reject political action. The BIA officials allow only community projects that are politically safe, such as, housing and recreation.

The channeling of interest and energies by the colonizer toward action or adoption of pre-determined changes conflicts with the basic traditions and values of the colonized, such as time demands that are unimportant to the Indian way of life; illegitimate institutions within the reservation such as church, police, etc.; lack of support by individuals or groups concerned with maintaining the traditional culture; subservient attitudes by the colonized; ritualistic institutional or practices which exist and oppose change. Up to the present time, the BIA and other colonizing agents have utilized opportunistic and machiavellian strategies and tactics. As oppressors, they hold the view that the colonized are unable to develop their own community, thus, it is necessary for authoritarian bureaucrats to enforce community changes that will prevent a state of stagnation to persist. To them, it is better to help Indians in a paternalistic way and achieve certain integration goals. According to the colonizer manipulator, the crucial problem for the community development worker is to manipulate the local people so they believe that they are the local decision-makers and have perceived the problems of the community as being their own, i.e., not imposed upon them or even suggested from the outside. This is one of the important manipulative tactics of this machiavellian approach. In effect, what is being advocated is not only a predetermined community development program from the outside but also a way of thinking and a perspective about achievements of the community. Development and change are to be controlled, subtlely and indirectly as far as the oppressor is concerned. It is necessary to control the actions of the colonized, to control their impressions and social relationships, if necessary. The community development worker, according to this method, needs to manipulate attitudes and view points to the advantage of the colonizer and his goals. Success of Indian community developing projects then, depends not on the democratic action of the Indian Masses, but on how affective the BIA has manuevred the people into attaining the externally prescribed goals which may be in total opposition to the people's aims, ideas and spirit.

Community development according to the oppressor is not necessarily the use of democratic practices for social change or economic development but rather the manipulation of members of a community to keep them powerless and assimilating materially into mainstream where they can be regulated more readily in becoming an integral part of the metropolis. Community development by the colonizer would be an externally organized action for implementation at the perception of a community problem that threatens the status quo. Also, this community process would include co-opted Indian members who are willing to impose the colonizer's program on their own people. Adaptation of prescribed solutions and their resulting changes, irregardless of the decision of the people and its negative effects on the community is still considered community development by metropolis experts. This means that the colonizer's particular stereotyped and possible mythical perception of the community is held as the true reality. It is little wonder that Indians are suspicious of government's feasible surveys for developing their reservations.

To date, Indians have seen very little engineered development in their community that has benefitted them. As long as the decisions and actions of local community members are being organized from outside, then no substantial or permanent improvements will occur. To reduce failure in Indian community projects, a decolonization approach is needed. For Native Americans, Community development must lead to a degree of liberation and development of Indianness.

There are built-in colonization problems that are unique to oppressed communities. Communication networks that are controlled by the colonizer are bureaucratic and are inconsistant with, and incomprehensible to, the informal, indigenous communication systems of the Indians. Such communication systems are suspect on reservations. Another problem is that the Indian community power structure is often regarded by the colonizer as powerless and irrelevant as a decision making body. Frequently the community development plans are not accepted by Indian people because they do not understand what is expected of them according to the goals set by the colonizer. Consequently apathy often exists, or in some cases hostile objections occur. Additional obstacles between the oppressor and the Indian occur as a result of the White supremacy syndrome. As a result of these cultural differences serious obstacles or failures develop. Nevertheless as changes become routinized

and self perpertuating by the community, the entire development process becomes standardized by the community. The change process achieves institutionalization with this routinization. Although the colonizer may proclaim this community development, it is largely platitudes.

The colonizer manipulates behavior of groups and the community through manipulative symbols, relationships, and social structures, rather then by directly manipulating the individuals, i.e., the traditional right of the council, or the sanctity of the pow-wow. The first problem the colonizing agent encounters is to get himself legitimated in the community as an agent of change. Crucial to this problem is empathy which is indispensible since he is a stranger in the community. Likewise, it is necessary for him to enhance his credibility, his strategy and goals. He proves this to the Indians by showing his involvement in the community and his "attachment" to the people. He tries to convince people that he is doing things not for his benefit but rather for their benefit. He learns and associates himself with "positive" symbols of the community, i.e., the chief, tribalism, etc. Likewise, he claims objectivity, especially when controversy develops. By exploiting the community members in this way and through their colonized weaknesses, the agent can get the community to respond in the way he has determined. By having the community members see the developing situation as beneficial to them, he is able to have them follow his line of action and believe that.

Reservations experiencing developmental stages will not be characterized by strong cultural traditions. Paternalistic relationships can be utilized to the advantage of the oppressor. In a similar way ritualistic institutions can be turned into levers, for example, by asking the medicine man or other spiritual leaders to bless the land on which a school building is to be constructed. Cooperation of local leaders can be managed through ingratiation tactics, a guarantee of more members and concessions that carry obligations.

Community development practice has been relatively unsuccessful in colonized satellite underdeveloped communities, such as reservations. The reasons for this are: community development theory and practice have been derived mainly from Anglo-Saxon attitudes and values that are applied without serious consideration of cultural differences, ideological systems of colonization and processes of decolonization, as well as indigenous economic development; Indian nationalism has been denied. Change agents have not been adequately trained in national liberation movements. Instead they bring into the change relationship their own values and traditions. Despite an effort to be objective they remain North American or European. To date, practically all community development projects for Native American communities have been initiated and controlled by the Bureau of Indian Affairs and other governmental offices. Apparently, their thinking is that in order to advance rapidly, the Indians must forego the "democratic experience" until more important economic and integration goals have been attained. Full citizen participation in Indian communities is too inefficient for rapid socio-economic development; hence BIA authorities are inclined to manipulate their target populations. Unfortunately, many of the colonized Native American communities are still dependent and continue to seek decisions made by others. The BIA in general has taken advantage of this factor by applying community development on reservations in a machiavellian way, and employing authoritarian White workers to implement the change. So far, the focus has been on integrating Native Americans into the main stream life, in the hope that by increasing assimilation the underdeveloped Indian community would further underdevelop the reservation until it gradually disappears through a legal procedure called termination.

IV. PROJECT BACKGROUND, PHILOSOPHY AND GENERAL OBJECTIVES

The NALE project was conceived in 1973 by D-Q University personnel because of several clearly evident problems: (1) Native languages were frequently not being developed as vehicles for adequate oral and written expression; (2) non-Indian linguists were sometimes developing orthographies for Native languages without the approval of Native expert-speakers, or were using elitist procedures which had the cumulative effect of making Indians feel incompetent in relation to their own linguistic heritage; (3) tribal politics and government relations were continually being corrupted by the absence of means whereby Native-speakers could become informed about their own futures because materials were not being made available in Indian languages; (4) many native languages were becoming impoverished through lack of use or were in danger of being lost altogether; and (5) the BIA and government agencies generally were doing nothing to develop materials in native languages.

The NALE project was not, however, conceived of as a project devoted solely to language, for several reasons:

(1) language is a vehicle for conveying ideas, concepts, values, history, literature, and culture in general. Therefore, one cannot deal with a Native language apart from Native ways of thinking and the content of Native culture;

(2) an oppressed people, as discussed in the background section of this evaluation, suffer from very specific psychological and socio-cultural handicaps which often doom development projects to failure unless the project uses a grass-roots community development approach;

(3) an oppressed people do not oppress themselves. Therefore, institutions of control and/or oppression exist. These institutions can be expected to resist a project which will upset their position. Thus, a project must, again, adopt a philosophy firmly rooted in the desires of the oppressed population so that an adequate base of support can evolve.

The forms of oppression which exist in a colonial situation are such that one cannot ordinarily seek to alter one part of the system without also becoming involved with related elements. Thus, at Papago, the NALE staff found the following:

(1) Although the vast majority of ʻOʻodham people were using their Native Language for communication that language was looked down upon and regarded (generally) as being inferior to English. Thus many persons were trying to avoid the use of ʻOʻodham or were trying to encourage their children not to learn ʻOʻodham even though this impeded communication with other Indians and led to dependence upon a dialectical or sub-standard variety of English which was, in fact, inferior to ʻOʻodham.

(2) Non-Indian linguists, priests, or anthropologists had established themselves as the "experts" on ʻOʻodham language and culture even though few, if any, were truly fluent in the ʻOʻodham language; one non-Indian had even devised an alphabet for ʻOʻodham and had written an ʻOʻodham-Engligh dictionary using that alphabet. Unfortunately, the orthography used was cumbersome and did not apparently reflect the true phonetic system of ʻOʻodham.

(3) A Native linguist, Albert Alvarez, had developed a better orthography for ʻOʻodham but because of his lack of white credentials he was ignored and regarded in a patronizing way by the white power-structure;

(4) The formal teaching of language (English or any other) was entirely under the control of school systems completely dominated by non-Indians;

(5) All forms of media (oral or written) available to people in the Papago region (radio, television, newspapers, etc.) were controlled by non-Indians;

(6) Written 'O'odham was being used by virtually no agency whatsoever, Indian or non-Indian.

What the above means is that a successful language project must eventually clash with established vested interests, including the formal schools, unless the latter change in the meantime or are changed through the impact of the project.

The situation at Zuni was very comparable to the above except: (1) the Zuni Tribe had managed to acquire a greater voice in relation to certain schools; (2) the Zuni were not immediately adjacent to white universities and had fewer outside "experts" intervening in their lives; and (3) the Zuni Tribe had been able to acquire a greater degree of self-government by operating services which in other areas were provided by BIA employees.

At this time it would be well to insert a few quotes from the NALE Annual Report for 1974-1975 to illustrate more concretely the project philosophy:

> The Center is oriented towards a strengthening of Indian life as Indians choose to define it. . .The Time has passed when non-Indians and professionals should take decisions for fluent and expert native speakers of their own language. . .D-Q University has accepted the responsibility of supporting the language development under the direction of the Papago and Zuni communities. . .
>
> The Project Director believes in Native American self-determination. . . because his vast experience led him to an early recognition that self-determination and self-development are the only effective means of achieving true advancement. . .

Specifically, in relation to language, the Project philosophy embodies a thoroughly grass-roots, democratic approach. This is set forth fully on pp. 5-7 of the Annual Report and we will not repeat all of it here. Several paragraphs are worthy of repetition, however:

> The knowledge of past injustices and defeats is deeply ingrained in the indigenous conscience and subconscious state of being. Patience must be exercised. . .The local people would not feel free to explore and to experiment with persons who they do not consider "members of the community. . ."
>
> The members of the local community must be provided the time and opportunity to discuss, meet, and present their views, feelings, and opinions. . .This includes people of all ages, with special emphasis upon the elderly people who possess all the knowledge and wisdom of tribal language, culture, and history. It is essential that the NALE Project adapt to the value systems of the local people for whom it purports to serve. . .
>
> In order for the language program to succeed, the local Papago and Zuni people must have genuine realization and belief that they are, in fact, in charge of the process; that they have the control and responsibility for their own language and its development.

V. POPULATIONS SERVED

All native Americans are ultimately to be served by the NALE project, however, the project and DQU staff quite early determined that no meaningful native literacy programs could be carried out unless intensive attention was given to two or three initial sites. The project director had had years of experience at working with his own and other Indian people. He was deeply aware of the intensity of colonialization and the hostile forces arrayed against self-development. He had seen many well-financed government programs fail. Therefore, it was clear to him that if more than token change was desired NALE had to be prepared to devote almost all of its meager resources to a very few sites for several years.

In 1973-74 materials were prepared for, and disseminated to, a large audience comprised of Indian tribes across the whole country. At the same time, however, most staff effort was being focused at Papago and Zuni. By 1974-75 virtually all resources were focused at Papago and Zuni, except for a general dissemination effort based on presentations made at conferences and information contained in the NALE newsletter.

A number of Indian groups have asked for NALE's help, but funding levels have precluded such help except at the level mentioned above (NALE's budget was cut in 1974-75 and was much less than requested. It should be noted that the National Indian Educational Advisory Council, which approves Indian Education Act projects, has never had enough money to fully fund all of the worthy proposals it receives).

The concentration of resources at Papago and Zuni could be viewed as a criticism of the project. In fact, however, the opposite is the case. D-Q University could have chosen, like so many Indian-controlled agencies, to have built up a big staff at DQU. To the university's credit, though, it turned its back on empire-building and, in effect, allowed the bulk of project dollars to be spent by Papago and Zuni staff away from DQU and in a setting where the reservation communities directly benefit. This point is really worth emphasizing because DQU is probably unable to get Indian Education Act funds for its own internal use because, from the Washington D.C. perspective, it already has "it's share" of IEA monies. In fact, however, this "share" is largely spent by and for Papago and Zuni people with DQU receiving only a small amount of administrative money. When one considers that many white universities have USOE contracts allowing at least 45% "overhead" above and beyond direct administrative costs and that DQU is an extremely under-financed institution, the full significance of the NALE decision to work almost entirely at Papago and Zuni can be better understood.

In short, both DQU and NALE have exhibited a true commitment to community development principles and to Native self-determination. This is far different from big white universities who see "community development" as a way to finance bureaucratic programs, pay for careerist research projects, and obtain publications which result in personal (staff) advancement.

Still further, we believe that the decision to work intensively at Papago and Zuni was a correct decision from the viewpoint of actually achieving some kind of real social change.

The 'O'odham people living in southern Arizona number about 25,000-30,000. The project chose initially to concentrate at Papago, however, because the 16,000 Papago 'O'odham are much more likely to be monolingual 'O'odham-speakers than are the Pima 'O'odham of the Gila-Salt rivers. The first project office was at Santa Rosa village, a small community strategically located between Casa Grande and Sells. By locating at Santa Rosa the project attempted to avoid direct entanglement with tribal politics. Later, as the tribal government became supportive, the project moved to better space at Sells, the tribal capital.

The Papago Reservation includes only about one-half of Papago land in Arizona. Nonetheless it totals about 3 million acres and is a difficult area to work in. Roads are often inadequate, meeting space is often non-existent, there is no public transportation, and gas stations are far apart and few in number. Carrying out educational, grass-roots development work in such a setting is difficult. Mileage expenses will

be great and staff will constantly face such problems as flat-tires, broken-down cars, meeting out-of-doors (with papers blowing in the wind, etc.), and poor communications.

How, for example, does one set up a meeting in an area where there are no phones, no telegraph, no local radio stations, and inadequate mail service? The answer is that many trips and personal contacts have to be carried out, with loss of time and much use of gasoline. The project staff also are usually of low-income background and their personal vehicles are not always new enough to withstand such travel.

Approximately 1,080 Papago students attend four schools of the Indian Oasis School District 40, a district serving the area west of the Baboquivari Mountains (described earlier). 582 students attend BIA schools on the reservation, while 368 attend BIA off-reservation boarding schools. Undetermined numbers also attend other (off-reservation) public schools and missionary schools. There are also about 1,000 children on the reservation five years or younger.

The Zuni area is much more compact. The reservation totals 400,000 acres and most Zunis live in a small area. There are 9,000 Zunis including about 1,866 pupils in public and missionary schools and 75 pre-school "headstart" children.

It should be stressed that the Papago and Zuni peoples are extremely low-income groups, especially the Papago. The Papago area perhaps represents the most economically-depressed sector of the United States with many consequences, such as an average life-expectancy said to have recently been about 17 years (due to an extremely high infant-mortality rate, among other factors). Malnutrition is common, and large numbers of people just barely manage to "survive." No analysis of the NALE project can ignore this reality. Will any experienced community-developer deny that this type of setting represents the most difficult of all possible worlds for achieving self-directed change? On the positive side, however, it should be stressed that the traditional 'O'odham culture makes money-poor Papago people spiritually rich and this cultural-plus makes many Papagos very different from slum-dwelling low-income people who may have lost most of their traditional values.

VI. PROJECT METHODOLOGY AND OPERATION

A. Methodology

We must commend very highly the methodology followed by NALE staff, especially at Papago where the language program started from nothing. The project director (himself, a Papago) from the very beginning traveled about among the Papago and Pima people, talking with, and listening to, the people. He hired no staff, put forth no program, formulated no plans by himself. He listened, learned, and only then began to hire people. One of his earliest employees was Albert Alvarez, a native linguist who had previously been driven to the wall by white rejection of his capability (he had only a brief elementary school education). The director became convinced that Alvarez was better prepared to help Papago people develop their language than was anyone else. Alvarez had learned linguistic theory and method, and had even taught linguists about Papago.

Gradually a grass-roots staff was put together, most of whom were elder monolingual 'O'odham-speakers. Gradually also they (collectively) and the people developed the projects philosophy and method. They met under sun-shades in the villages, or in small homes, and thrashed out the problems of working with an oral language, never before written except by a very few persons.

This grass-roots approach was deeply resented by many white "experts" who, frankly, did not believe in Papago competence in their own language. But the white "experts" were left behind because NALE was working directly with the people. (The NALE staff wisely avoided wasting time on convincing white outsiders. That would have prevented their having time to be with the people, and the 'O'odham people will ultimately be the decisive factor in language development.)

The BIA and some tribal politicians were also hostile. NALE, it was said, was a revolutionary group allied with AIM (American Indian Movement). It was even said that a NALE conference was really a gathering to burn down a village and the local store. Tribal police blockaded entrances to the reservation and the tribal chairman (who had been invited to speak) came escorted by police, and he left early. The conference, nonetheless, was successful and was focused solely on 'O'odham language development.

This incident is cited, however, as an illustration of the fact that when an oppressed people move to assume control over any significant aspect of their lives it is a revolutionary act. The project director's life was frequently threatened and, for a time, a great deal of tension surrounded the project.

Gradually, however, the grass-roots method began to work. It became clear that: (1) the NALE orthography (developed by Alvarez and the people) was a good one; (2) the people were behind the project; (3) the elders were involved in the project; (4) it was for all of the Papago people; and (5) it had political (mass) support. At that point the tribal councilmen began to swing in behind the project, gradually bringing with them the tribal bureaucracy, committee people, etc. More recently, white agencies have also begun to try to work with the project, acknowledging its expertise and effectiveness.

All of this represents the success of the grass-roots, democratic method. (In this case it is a peculiarly Papago science, the Science of Papago Democracy, which has been implemented).

But how do we "quantify" this effort and its achievements? It simply cannot be done. We could add up the number of people involved, the number of meetings held, the number of miles traveled, etc., but all of that would be so much bullshit! The quality of the achievement at Papago cannot be quantified.

It should, however, be stressed that the success of the Papago effort was (1) dependent upon the willngness of DQU to serve as a non-directive vehicle for securing funds, etc., and (2) dependent upon Indian Education Act monies, made possible by the lobbying of Indian educational groups and by the pro-Indian democracy majority on the National Indian Educational Advisory Council.

The Papago (and Zuni) sites are still vulnerable, then. Federal auditors and Federal bureaucrats of alien cultural backgrounds, still possess the power to write negative reports and cut off funds. It is important, therefore, that the methodology of the project comes to include ways to survive even if the project's enemies (some elements of the BIA, white linguists, etc.) succeed in cutting off funds.

It should also be stressed that the grass-roots method represents a threat also to Indian politicians and professionals who are afraid that the Indian masses in their own areas will get direct access to funds and take jobs away from brown-skinned "experts." These Indian "professionals" and "managers" may, ultimately, be the group that does away with projects like NALE. (Already some such people regard DQU and NALE as high-priority targets because both are grass-roots oriented and democratic in philosophy, whereas many other Indian colleges or programs are controlled by tribal political machines or bureaucracies).

B. Direction (Administration)

We believe that the project has benefited considerably from being headquartered at D-Q University, in several specific ways:

(1) DQU staff and students have been available as resource persons and have contributed to the project's philosophy and expertise;

(2) DQU's central administrative and fiscal management services have been available;

(3) Academic credit, through DQU, is available for NALE staff and students (but has not yet been implemented);

(4) DQU provides a convenient location for the development of new sites in the Far West, and

(5) DQU has, in effect, made it possible for the project to exist as an independent agency at Papago particularly, protecting the project from destruction by powerful white-controlled agencies.

On the other hand it should be noted that DQU is not a well-financed, white-style university. It frequently suffers from a shortage of funds and staff turnover. This is not a condemnation of DQU but rather of those federal agencies which have unethically side-tracked or sabotaged DQU funding proposals. In particular we have reference to the blatant discrimination against DQU in 1974 and 1975 evidenced by the USOE staff administering the funding for "Developing Institutions" (Higher Education Act).

NALE has been very wise in concentrating its energies and staffing on the present field sites located at Papago (850 miles from Davis) and Zuni (1,000 miles from Davis). On the other hand, it may well be that at least one additional person should have been employed in the central office, to be concerned with the development and dissemination of materials to language groups other than Papago and Zuni.

The director of the NALE project is remarkably suited for this kind of a development program, because of his grass-roots, native language background. On the other hand, his lack of training in office management procedures was clearly a liability prior to the hiring of the present associate director. At present there would seem to be a good balance of skills between the director and associate director.

Distance between central office and field sites is a problem for the project, however, it has been overcome in great measure by the locating of the director and associate director in the field and central office, respectively. In any case, such distances cannot be avoided in the project since new sites developed in the future may well be at a great distance also (Indian communities are, of course, spread out all over the United States).

It might be argued that each Indian group should develop its own language program, independently of the DQU-NALE project. This is, of course, perfectly feasible for large, relatively well-developed tribes, but it is not feasible for the vast majority of tribes who lack the management services necessary to provide support for such an undertaking. Still further, the language philosophy developed at DQU, and the accumulated experience of the staff, should be of value to other tribal groups.

Of course, it goes without saying that, as at Papago and Zuni, the actual direction of language development must be determined by the local people. This, however, appears to be the general philosophy of DQU and, indeed, that is why NALE exists.

This should be stressed: without DQU and its staff there would have been no NALE nor any opportunity for truly grass-roots language development. In most non-Nale programs "outsiders" or "experts" are in control of orthography and language development.

Finally, it should be stressed that the energy and cultural expertise of the project director has been a major factor in the success of the project, especially at Papago. This underscores the necessity of having a dedicated community-oriented person in such a key position.

VII. EVALUATION OF THE PROJECT

A. Introduction to Evaluation

The NALE philosophy, as discussed in the previous section, is a fine expression of community development theory at its very best. On the other hand, we must keep in mind that the acting out of that philosophy will doubtless make it difficult for NALE to secure support or approval from white agencies. More fundamentally bureaucratically-oriented non-Indian evaluators of the NALE project may find it difficult to comprehend the philosophy and the manner of development. Why?

Many non-Indians in positions of authority are arrogant and aggressive, or they have naive conceptions about the effectiveness of rapid-change processes. They expect, for example, to appropriate "x" millions of dollars on such and such a date and within twelve months see such and such results. Of course, what they get back are numbers which usually mean nothing and the society (or whatever target group) keeps going as before.

To <u>really</u> bring about change, however, involves changing individual lives. In relation to oppressed people this means that individuals must be de-oppressed (or "liberated"). One cannot, for example, simply go out to a group of Native Americans and say: "Okay, now you are free to control your own language" or "Okay, now you can learn how to read your own language in your own way." First, one has to de-colonialize the mind or spirit of people so that they possess the self-confidence to do those kind of things. This is doubtless why the NALE project emphasizes the necessity for "time" and "patience."

A word should be said here about "<u>evaluation</u>." Evaluation, as a concept, is derived from the verb "to evaluate" which means "to ascertain the value" of something. This is worth stressing since "value" is different from mere "results." A project may produce "results" or "outcomes" which are of no value, in which case one could say that the project failed its evaluation although it achieved its anticipated outcomes.

Measurement procedures which are of a quantitative nature ordinarily deal with "outcomes" rather than with "value." For example, the Bureau of Indian Affairs regularly "measures" the "progress" of Native pupils in its schools. These "measures" are, however, irrelevant to true evaluation. Why? The BIA chooses (like most educational agencies) to test children on insignificant or less significant behaviors. For example, tests may measure English spelling proficiency, mathematical ability, historical "fact" memorization, or English language reading "comprehension." In the Soviet Union, Russian educators might also be "measuring" the progress of Soviet youngsters in exactly the same manner. In other words, the behaviors measured are those which any bureaucratic state-apparatus might use, and they are used for purely bureaucratic-managerial reasons: ease of administration and resulting "numbers" which can be placed in charts in annual reports, five-year plans, et cetera.

How do quantifiable behaviors relate to the goals of any educational system? What are the goals? Do we try to measure progress towards goals or merely easily-isolated behaviors which are supposed, in some way, to contribute to such goals?

To be more precise, a major goal of 'O'odham people <u>might</u> well be to facilitate the development of 'O'odham persons who will follow a "sacred" life of beauty and balance, sharing with, and helping, their fellow humans and other living creatures. What BIA testing device has anything <u>whatsoever</u> to do with this goal? Does reading help? Does math help? Perhaps, but 'O'odham people were good people long before white reading and white math appeared. Conversely, Nazi executioners and death camp operators, Communist secret police, and Watergate-style law-violators are all people who are able to read and quantify quite well. Clearly then, reading and math, in and of themselves, are mere tools which can be of value or which can be used to corrupt, kill, falsify, disguise, blackmail, et cetera.

The people who have illegally stolen vast areas from the 'O'odham and Zuni since 1848-1853 have usually been literate and able to add and subtract.

The real goals of education, in our opinion, have to do with the broad area of how any society facilitates the development of moral ("beautiful") human beings, according to the highest values of that particular cultural tradition. Education means "to bring forth," that is, to facilitate the realization of the fullest potential of a human being.

The proper "measures," then, of goals of education are those which get at the "quality" of people or of behaviors. This can, in theory, be partially quantified but only after qualitative analysis has been given precedence. For example, major quantitative measures, relevant to the success of any educational system, are measures of the crime rates, suicide rates, mental hospital commitment rates, poverty rates, et cetera. These are far more relevant than, say, mathematical ability measures, because the former reveal something about the success of a given educational process in relation to significant goals.

On the other hand, qualitative analysis must take precedence because a high crime rate may, for instance, be a product of political or economic repression and may be a reflection of complex processes requiring extensive study.

One could propose that a measure of the success of the NALE project might be to find out how many ʻOʻodham or Zuni are learning how to read and write and at what levels of proficiency. That, however, might be "value-less" for the simple reason that an "evaluation" approach would have to ask "what are they reading?," "why are they reading?," "are they better ʻOʻodham or Zuni because they are reading?," et cetera.

In the Soviet Union the Uzbek people, to cite one example, have largely become literate in Uzbek. On the other hand, they are allowed to read only communist-approved literature which is also controlled by non-Uzbeks (i.e., Russions). What good would it do to have ʻOʻodham people learn how to read if it were only to make them more vulnerable to white propaganda printed in ʻOʻodham?

Our evaluation is based upon certain fundamental legal and philosophical principles. First, the United Nations Charter guarantees fundamental rights of cultural self-determination to all peoples. Second, the first, fifth, and fourteenth amendments to the United States Constitution guarantee freedom of religion, speech, and cultural freedom ("equal protection of the laws") to all minorities. Third, the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo with Mexico (1848) guarantees the religious, cultural, and linguistic freedom of all persons living in the Southwest at that date. Fourth, the basic Supreme Court decisions relating to Indians (Worcester v. Georgia and Cherokee Nation v. Georgia, for example) guarantee internal autonomy to Native American nations. Finally, the "Interstate Commerce Clause" of the U.S. Constitution grants to the Federal government the power to regulate "commerce" between the states and with the Indian tribes. This is the only power specifically granted to the Federal government by the Constitution in relation to Native nations. In addition, we unashamedly believe in democracy and cultural freedom not as a mere slogan but as an inherent right of human beings.

These legal and philosophic foundations mean that the NALE project should be evaluated within the context of Native American values and goals. Quite clearly this perspective is also supported by the specific legislation providing funds to NALE, legislation based upon the concept of Native American self-determination.

Translating this into evaluation "policy" means that we must look at NALE from the viewpoint not merely of producing native literacy but also from the perspective of how this literacy (and the process involved in creating it) contributes to the self-development of the ʻOʻodham and Ácimel Oʻodham peoples (and other Native Americans).

We are, in short, not looking merely for "outcomes" but for "value," and "value" as seen by the Native People of this American Land.

B. The Evaluation

During the first several years of the existence of a project such as NALE we should expect to see results primarily of the following kind: (1) evidence of grass-roots involvement in conceptual development of the project; (2) evidence of the increasing development of self-confidence and self-worth on the part of people exposed to the project; (3) evidence of enthusiasm about the project; (4) the production of some initial materials by the people themselves; (5) the use of the written form of the language

by a few of the most actively involved people; and (6) the beginning of the creation of reading matter of value in the target languages.

We should not expect "instant literacy" nor should we expect quantifiable results, especially at this stage. Our major search should be for qualitative change and basic developmental work. Thses things can perhaps lead to quantifiable results in the future but, more importantly, they are the absolutely essential prerequisite for all later progress.

We have examined the materials developed by NALE staff and find them excellent, especially since they clearly flow out of the contemporary culture of the 'O'odham and Zuni peoples.

We have also attempted to judge the qualitative changes brought about by the project. This is a more difficult area to deal with but it is our finding that the project has been successful in this area also. What is our evidence? (1) the enthusiasm of staff; (2) the grass-roots people turning out for "scholarly" meetings under ramadas or in community centers in large numbers; (3) the involvement of large numbers of elderly expert-speakers; (4) the support now being received from the tribal education committees, and also white-controlled agencies. (The latter is somewhat of a good measure of the success of the project in certain respects since such groups would not swing in behind a grass-roots project over which they had no control unless it truly had achieved popular support.)

Let us review our expectations of the NALE project in greater detail:

1. Evidence of grass-roots involvement in conceptual development of the project. This is very clearly established for Papago since all of the staff including the native linguist, Alvarez, are themselves of distinctly grass-roots origin. Furthermore, meeting after meeting was held in various villages where elders and others freely participated and reacted to the project. The director, Cipriano Manuel, frequently went into great detail about the involvement of the grass-roots people in conversations held prior to the evaluation process. It is clear that the people made significant inputs and that the Alvarez orthography was refined as a result of the involvement. Furthermore, the development of materials evolved gradually in direct response to grass-roots interaction.

The situation at Zuni is less clear, in that, initially, the Zuni staff were working with a white linguist and with little popular involvement. This however, changed under the subtle influence of the 'O'odham example. More grass-roots interaction was secured and the orthgraphy was modified. The concepts involved in the development of materials came to be based upon community reactions also.

2. Evidence of the Increasing Development of Self-Confidence and Self-Worth on the Part of the People Exposed to the Project. We believe that this has occurred at both sites but at Zuni our judgement is limited to the Zuni staff, who gained the confidence to assume more independence from white "expertise." At Papago the evidence is stronger. We have seen progressive evidence of growing self-confidence at the staff-level, as evidenced in changes in behavior and confidence in the production of materials. The impressive products produced thus far have created still greater confidence. Reports also indicate that children and adults are also being helped to a greater sense of self-worth but caution must be exercised here since the general poverty, high death-rates, and oppression at Papago may well counter-balance the projects influence for some time to come.

It is hard to exaggerate, however, the thrill of the Papago staff when, for example, they saw Canyon Records release a Papago album with, for the first time ever, written 'O'odham used on the cover (translated by the Papago staff of the project). This may seem like a small thing but it is so rare among Indians as to be a major development. We do not doubt its value in relation to self-concept.

3. Evidence of Enthusiasm About the Project. Evidence abounds here, based on staff anecdotes and observation. Large numbers of extremely poor people do not travel great distances to attend meetings where no "per diem" is offered unless they are motivated. Similarly, such people (living often at a near-starvation level; that is, on the edge of life and death) also do not donate sheep or cattle for slaughter to feed people at such meetings unless they are extremely enthusiastic. We have seen just such a meeting and met such people.

Enthusiasm is also evidenced by the growing requests for project staff to visit this or that village, set up a program in a certain school, offer classes for school employees, and train non-Indians. Still further, the Tribal Council (a very "political" body) and the Tribal Education Committee have both come to support the project at Papago, not only in words, but also in tangible terms (such as office space, etc.).

The Zuni staff also report enthusiasm but this has not been independently verified by us. The Zuni tribal government continues to strongly support the project, however, which, again, is some evidence.

4. The Production of Some Initial Materials By the People Themselves. This area is one which can be clearly documented as a series of publications exist, which can be examined. We believe that the publications are well-designed and, on the whole, very appealing artistically. They clearly relate closely to Zuni and Papago cultures.

We are very clear on the point that these materials were produced solely by Native People and, especially at Papago, by extremely grass-roots people in constant interaction with the community. White educators might not be impressed by the quantity of publications but all must keep in mind that these were developed by people who never wrote a "book" before, let alone go through the whole process of conception, design, field-testing, community-feedback, mock-up, printing, et cetera.

5. The Use of the Written Form of the Language By a Few of the Most Actively Involved People. We believe that this is occurring both because we have seen evidence of such writing and also because of staff accounts. The project is preparing to translate and publish significant material in ʻO'odham (such as a handbook on Indian civil rights). This not only is evidence of the development of writing in ʻO'odham but the publication of such works will, in turn, stimulate reading. (People, of course, cannot read if there is nothing to read.)

It should be stressed, of course, that every language has a unique set of grammatical rules and forms of expression (word order, for example). When a language has been solely an oral one it has developed only an oral system of expression. To transform this into a written form is not a simple matter, to say the least. (For example, oral expression uses pauses and changes in tone to express meaning. How does one transpose this into written speech? It has to be done differently for each language, of course). It will take a great deal of time for people to actually learn to write lengthy, complex materials in ʻO'odham and Zuni. Even translation will be difficult at first.

Here, for example, are two passages which illustrate the above:

a) "ʻIm ʻant hú ohí:"
"There I distantly will go"
" I am going off someplace"

b) "hég s·ké:gaj ʻam wé:hejed g hémajkam"
"that-one is good there with respect to it the person"
"that's good for the person"

These selections are from Piman Shamanism and Staying Sickness (Ká:cim Múmkidag), a book jointly authored by an anthropologist, Donald M. Bahr, and several Papagos including Albert Alvarez (University of Arizona Pess, 1974). The Alvarez orthography was used throughout the book, a great part of which is printed in ʻO'odham. This work should help to stimulate interest in reading and writing in the Papago language.

6. The Beginning of the Creation of Reading Matter of Value in the Target Languages. This was discussed above. We cannot expect much material yet but we do have recommendations for the future (see Recommendation section).

The Native American Language Education project is a unique program because it develops and strengthens an indigenous language from the commuity people themselves. It is not developed by outside experts and technicians, but by the elders from the reservation. The program offers an assurance of preservation of the Papago and Zuni cultures. Where the community people are involved and are the decision-makers, it is a bulwark against cultural genocide or ethnocide.

VIII. RECOMMENDATIONS

A. Strengthening the Central office at D-Q University.

We believe that the central office needs to be somewhat strengthened so as to ensure that all Native communities have the opportunity to follow the examples of Papago and Zuni. More specifically, the library resources of language materials needs expanding and at least one additional staff person needs to be added to the staff. This person should be chargd with helping other communities initiate their own projects, even if only in a modest way.

B. Making the General Publications of the Project More Dissemination-Oriented.

The project newsletter has evolved in a favorable way. It very ably conveys the story of NALE's work, but not in a detailed enough manner for emulation. That is, we believe that the newsletter and other materials for a general Indian audience should give the reader some specific ideas, tools, or models which can be used in other areas, in addition to news about project funding, staffing, etc.

C. Making the Newsletter Multi-Lingual.

We recommend that the newsletter be printed in 'O'odham, English and Áshiwi. Every opportunity to use Native languages should be taken advantage of.

D. Publication of Useful Materials in Native Languages.

We recommend that NALE proceed now to translate or publish pamphlets, books, brochures, etc., in native languages which will deal with subjects of vital importance, e.g., civil rights, Indian law, nutrition, health care, voter handbooks, alternative energy systems, dangers of credit buying, alcoholism, et cetera. In addition, oral histories of elders and native traditions should be published. Why? People have to be convinced that it is to their advantage to read. They must have materials to read. They need these materials to be adequately informed.

E. Development of a Dissemination Plan.

We recommend that the NALE staff develop a plan for future dissemination of knowledge learned, and also plan how new sites will be selected and developed in the future.

F. Development of an 'O'odham College or Institute.

We recommend that the Papago staff plan now for a permanent language center which could take the form of a college (two-year) or an institute. We recommend that this begin as a branch of D-Q University (for accreditation purposes) but that it have a policy board representing all 'O'odham people (both Papago and Pima and perhaps Tepehuan and Tepecano). Needless to state, a college cannot be developed overnight but it can begin as a learning center of D-Q University using volunteer instructors. The 'O'odham people badly need a center of education under their own control.

G. Alternative Sources of Funding

We recommend that NALE begin to shift some of its present work to new sources of funding and gradually use more of its present funding for work at new sites. This new funding can be from federal funds going to the tribe, from foundations, etc. More especially, the schools (BIA and public) should begin to pay for expertise and materials supplied by the project.

H. Tribal Newspaper and Publications.

Project staff should consider helping the Papago Tribe develop a newspaper in the 'O'odham language. Also the constitution, by-laws, and reports of the Council should be published in 'O'odham.

I. Film and Videotape.

The project should try to locate additional funding to begin to utilize media as a form of mass education.

J. Selection of a Third Site.

The project should proceed to select a third site, preferably in California or Nevada, even if only a modest beginning can be made there in 1975-1976.

OTHER RECOMMENDATIONS

A. To the U.S. Office of Education.

1. We recommend that a high-level staff person in USOE be assigned to locate other funds for NALE so as to insure that its work be spread to other sites across the country. This means seeking funds from all potential areas: adult education, bilingual education, National Institute of Education, vocational education, et cetera. The NALE staff does not have time to seek out all relevant grants. USOE must do what it does for favored white universities, i.e., look for ways to help Indian programs.

2. USOE should contact all of the local education agencies (and the BIA) to urge them to cooperate with the NALE program and to suggest that they use some of their Title IV monies, JOM funds, etc., to pay for services received.

B. To the Papago Tribe.

1. We recommend that the tribe establish a Papago Tribal Board of Education which is democratically elected so as to represent each district adequately. Such a board is needed so that educational policy be developed separately from tribal politics.

2. We recommend that the said Tribal Board of Education pass a resolution requiring all schools within the reservation area to offer full instructon in the 'O'odham language and also in 'O'odham history, culture, music, literature, and arts. This would apply to all schools - BIA, public, mission, etc., since all are under tribal jurisdiction.

3. We recommend that the Papago Tribal Board of Education take over direct operation of all BIA schools on or near the reservation and also over the schools of the Indian Oasis Public School District, since the latter is a state agency operating in an area where the state has no jurisdiction.

4. We recommend that the Papago Tribal Board of Education develop its own certification procedures for all teachers serving on the Papago Reservation, eventually requiring competency in the 'O'odham language for all teachers, counselors and other certificated personnel.

C. To the National Indian Educational Advisory Board.

We recommend increased funding for NALE to:

1. strengthen slightly the central project office;

2. expand the 'O'odham project to include Pima communities and off-reservation Papago people;

3. publish more needed materials;

4. add a new site, or perhaps two, in other areas;

5. develop a film or videotape which tells the NALE story so it can be emulated by other Native communities.

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X. APPENDIX

A. Note on preparation: Professor Howard Adams is primarily responsible for the section on "Native American Community Development Theory," pp. 19-21, and for part of the material on pp. 13-14. Professor Jack Forbes is primarily responsible for the balance of the study.

B. Supplementary Documents: It seems wise to include a few pages from the NALE Annual Report, 1974-1975, to provide greater insight into project philosophy and staffing. These materials follow.

SELF-DETERMINATION IN LANGUAGE DEVELOPMENT

NALE WHY AND HOW...

The Native American language Education Project is adamant in its direction towards self-determination. The basic concept involves the following belief:

> That when members of a community or tribe are involved in the description and identification of language elements and how the language should develop and what it should be now, they will take the responsibility for directing and bringing about a new growth after the change elements have been removed. In fact, the difference is as fundamental as that between success and failure.

Language is the very core of a people's culture and without the language the culture disintegrates. At a community meeting the Project Director was asked what the Language Project was all about. His response was as follows:

> "You ask me what is a Language Development Project? I ask you - 'Where does the language live?' The language lives within the people that's where it lives. If you cannot get the Papago people to speak and generate their own language then you will not have a developing language. The Papago language can never grow or flourish without the Papago people themselves inventing, practicing, developing, and using their own language so that they will undertake a serious development of their language themselves. This is what a Language Development Project is all about."

Under other systems; of having external agencies, federal representatives, or whomever, from outside the tribe, take the responsibility and leadership, the Native community will not assume the responsibility for development after the initial program has begun. This is because the people will not see or feel the activities as being their own, but as the activities of non-Papagos and non-Zunis.

The Language Project employs local Native Americans to work with the indigenous populations in the local communities. It would be ineffective to employ non-Papagos or non-Zunis to relate successfully on such a delicate task as language development when the local populations have been subjected to generations of abuse and discrimination by outsiders. The knowledge of past injustices and defeats is deeply ingrained in the indigenous conscience and subconscience state of being. Patience must be exercised and our staff must be fully trained and sensitized themselves, to the manners, mores and characteristics of local people. The local people would not feel free to explore and to experiment with persons who they do not consider "members of the community." The Native American Language Education Project therefore, insists on self-determination in language from the very beginning.

The members of the local community must be provided the time and opportunity to discuss, meet, and present their views, feelings, and opinions in regard to the total language development process which takes place within their own community. This includes people of all ages, with special emphasis upon the elderly people who possess all the knowledge and wisdom of tribal language, culture, and history. It is essential that the Native American Language Education Project adapt to the value systems of the local people for whom it purports to serve.

NALE has maintained the special emphasis on the involvement and importance of the elderly people of the communities. Staff members realize that the elderly people are the true strength and purpose of the Project. For it is within the elderly members of the tribes that we find what we are as Indians today. We are an extension of our people and it is through the language that we find our strength, purpose, and destiny.

For these reasons, the NALE-Papago site employs a full-time Language Specialist/Elder, Victor Joaquin (Papago), who constantly works with the elderly people of the Papago tribe. It is through Victor that the elderly people are kept informed and involved in all language activities. Any person who wishes to express himself at any time during

language activities is allowed this courtesy, in the customary tribal manner that is practiced and has been practiced throughout his lifetime.

Because the elderly people are those who possess the true knowledge and wisdom of the tribal language, culture, and history, their expertise is utilized by the NALE staff members whenever possible. Elderly members are periodically contracted as professional consultants because of their tribal expertise, to correct, evaluate, and approve language materials before they are printed and distributed. Here they check for the proper pronunciation of words, and validate the accuracy of tribal stories and history which is being presented.

Before Native Language Development truly progresses, the local people must believe and feel that there will be benefits to their tribal people and to themselves by developing their own language. NALE feels there is no segment of the Native population that better knows and believes that there will be benefits for the tribe and its posterity, than the elderly people.

Success in learning the language, recognition of the ability to speak from others, and the good feeling that comes from sharing something unique and "in common" are some of the benefits which are to be realized by tribal members.

In order for the Language Program to succeed, the local Papago and Zuni people must have genuine realization and belief that they are, in fact, in charge of the process; that they have the control and responsibility for their own language and its development. The community must have the opportunity to evaluate the langauge development process and decide upon the good or bad aspects of any and all language programs within their respective communities. They must also be in the position to ask for or reject any outside consultation or involvement.

Again, it is most important to NALE that community tribal members, particularly the elderly, receive the courtesy, attention, and respect in ther tribal manner to which they are accustomed. Elderly people are also truly involved with Indian self-determination through language development as the following pictures indicate; taken at one of the many meetings and activities sponsored by the NALE Project where tribal elders participated. These meetings or activities, as well as total staff, has had 100% Indian involvement.

John Pancho

Benito Garcia

Henry Jose

Victor Joaquin

Cesario Lewis

Community Meeting

Phillip Salcito

Community Members

Nolio Ramon

Tohka Players

STAFFING OF THE NALE PROGRAM

The staffing the NALE Project to date is as follows:

Director: Cipriano J. Manuel (Papago)

Mr. Manuel is responsible for the overall program direction, development management, fiscal, operations, and is the NALE leader and spokesman. His time is spent between the sites.

D-QU SITE:

Associate Director: Frank J. Lee, Mono, (California)
Administrative Assistant: Andrea J. Kelsey, Hupa, (California)

These positions function as the administrative support unit for the NALE Project at D-QU, Davis, California.

PAPAGO SITE:

Native American Linguist: Albert Alvarez (Papago)
Native Artist/Illustrator: George Garcia (Papago)
Native Language Specialist Field Coordinator: Vn Joaquin (Papago)
Native Language Specialist Instructor: Juan Thomas (Papago)
Native Language Specialist Elder: Victor Joaquin (Papago)
Secretary: Catherine Gregorio (Papago)

the staff members of the Papago team are all Papago and their center is located in the Santa Rosa Community Building, Papago Reservation, in Arizona.

ZUNI SITE:

Native Linguist/Consultant: Wilfred Eriacho (Zuni)
Native language Specialist: Kirby Gchachu (Zuni)
Native Language Specialist: Eric Bobelu (Zuni)
Native Language Specialist: Lawrence Laiteyse (Zuni)
Native Language Specialist: LaVerne Pekeytewa (Zuni)
Secretary: Jean Othole (Zuni)

The staff members of the Zuni Language Development team are all Zuni and their center is located at Zuni, New Mexico. The center is housed with the Zuni Follow-Through Program of the Gallup McKinley School District, Zuni, New Mexico.

Wilfred Eriacho serves as a very important Zuni consultant to the Zuni team, as the Native Linguist. He also works in a supervisorial capacity and gives direction, supervision, and assistance.

Publication Specialist: Stanley Throssell (Papago)

The Publication Specialist is located in Tucson, Arizona, where he has access to both Papago and Zuni activities. Stanley publishes the Project's newsletter which is entitled the Messenger. Stan also published the language brochure entitled Keeping a Language Alive.

PAPAGO ORTHOGRAPHY

I:BHEI SO:BIDA

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I:'E E'A: O:'O U'A KC 'AMJEḌ'IDAM MAT AN AṢ 'E-HUHUGID 'AN O WO:PIKAD C PI'AN HU O WO'OKAD'I:DA BA'ITK'EḌ 'E-KUKPADAM HA-ṢA:GID. M-IA HAB'EP CU'IG--UI,EI AI,UA, OI.